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OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1924

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Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 22-23, 1924

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

(Printed by authority of the State of Illinois)

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## OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

*Honorary Vice Presidents.*

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

## EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

### ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

### ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aborginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore.*

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors, he shall submit an annual report of the finance of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

## ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation

of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Sec. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Sec. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Sec. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

## ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Sec. 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Sec. 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

## ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; *Provided* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

## AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

### OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

*(Members please read this letter.)*

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archaeology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, especially the collection of material relating to the recent great war, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire—

### EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great rebellion, or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superin-

tendents and school committees, educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of the past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery, paintings, portraits, etc,, connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings, portraits, engravings; statuary; war relics, autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators, and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the State Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Your attention is called to the important duty of collecting and preserving everything relating to the part taken by the State of Illinois in the great World War.

Communciations or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PART I

# Record of Official Proceedings

1924

## ANNUAL DIRECTORS' MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

The annual meeting of the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the office of the Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, in the Centennial Memorial Building at Springfield, Illinois, May 23d, at 10:30 o'clock.

There were present: Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society; Mr. H. W. Clendenin of Springfield; Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville and Rev. Ira W. Allen of La-Grange, Illinois.

The meeting was called to order by Doctor Schmidt. Mr. Clendenin moved that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with. The motion was seconded by Mr. Moore and carried.

The report of the Secretary was then read. Mr. Moore moved its adoption and that it be placed on file. The motion was seconded by Mr. Clendenin and carried.

Mr. Allen introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Our beloved Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, has been seriously indisposed;

WHEREAS, We miss the efficiency, the wisdom and the charm of her personality, during her stay in the hospital; and,

WHEREAS, We realize our debt to her for years of faithful and cheerfully rendered service;

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved*, That we express to Mrs. Weber our deep appreciation of her services and our profound sympathy for her in her affliction.

Mr. Clendenin moved the adoption of this resolution. Motion carried.

Doctor Schmidt then took up the matter of note from Judge G. W. Murray with regard to picture he had deposited in the Library depicting the various homes of Abraham Lincoln to his final resting place in Oak Ridge Cemetery. After much discussion of the picture the matter was laid on the table and no action taken, and the matter was left in the hands of the Library Board.

Doctor Schmidt then read a letter from Colonel Charles G. Davis of Geneseo and said the only thing to do would be to appoint a committee.

Doctor Schmidt then spoke of the Cahokia matter and said that that had been settled the evening previous.

A poem presented by Charles Walter Browne on "A Vanished Race" was then discussed. Mr. Allen moved that no action be taken thereon and Mr. Moore seconded the motion which was carried.

Doctor Schmidt said that some formal action ought to be taken on the gift of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps of a beautiful American flag which was presented on May 22nd to the Society. Mr. Allen introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, We the members of the Illinois State Historical Society, highly appreciate the loyalty of the women of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps, and their helpfulness to the State in fostering patriotic ideals and their civic usefulness in inculcating morality among our citizens; and

WHEREAS, We have added reason to express to the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps our gratitude because of the gift to our Society of a beautiful United States Flag,

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved,* That we express our thanks to these loyal ladies for their generous, patriotic and beautiful gift;

*Be it Further Resolved,* that these resolutions be spread on the minutes of our Society and a copy sent to the Illinois State Headquarters of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps.

A motion was adopted that the resolution be adopted. Carried.

Doctor Schmidt then requested formal action on the gift of Mr. Henry E. Hamilton of Oak Park.

Mr. Moore moved that Mr. Allen be instructed to draw up such a resolution.

Mr. Allen drew up the following resolution with regard to the gift of an oil portrait of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard:

WHEREAS, Mr. Henry E. Hamilton of Oak Park, Illinois, has presented to our Society a portrait of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard:

WHEREAS, We appreciate the distinguished place in Illinois history held by the subject of the portrait,

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved,* That we express to Mr. Hamilton our high appreciation of his valuable, historically appropriate and generous gift.

Doctor Schmidt then took up a letter from Mr. Heffner of Peoria with regard to a picture which he had for sale and which he thought should be in the Illinois State Historical Library. After a discussion the matter was laid on the table.

Mrs. C. H. McElfresh then appeared before the Directors in the interest of Miss Margaret Brooks who is the owner of an old sofa which was in the Presbyterian Church when Abraham Lincoln attended it and for which Miss Brooks asks $75. A motion was made that if it could be properly authenticated that it was used by Abraham Lincoln the State ought to purchase it. The matter was left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Society.

There being no further business the Directors meeting adjourned.

## ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 23, 1924, AT 11 O'CLOCK A. M.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order by the President, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago. The reading of the minutes of the 1923 session was dispensed with as they are incorporated in the Transactions.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Secretary be received and placed on file.

Colonel Charles G. Davis of Geneseo gave a brief talk on the march of Captain Abraham Lincoln's company in the Black Hawk War. After a brief discussion it was moved by Mr. Theodore C. Pease of Urbana that the President appoint a committee to consider this matter. This motion was seconded by Mr. Allen and carried.

Doctor Schmidt then introduced Judge G. W. Murray who spoke at length on a picture which is deposited in the Library. No action was taken on this matter.

Doctor Schmidt stated that the next thing on hand was the election of officers. Mr. Allen moved that a nominating committee be appointed. The motion was carried and the nominating committee composed of Mr. John H. Little of Rushville, Mrs. I. G. Miller and Mrs. Isabel Jamison of Springfield retired for conference.

Doctor Schmidt then spoke of the wonderful gift to the Society on the evening of the 22nd of a beautiful American Flag presented by the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps. Mr. Allen moved that the Society formally accept this valuable gift and the motion carried and Mr. Allen asked permission to submit a resolution which was put to motion and carried.

WHEREAS, We the members of the Illinois State Historical Society, highly appreciate the loyalty of the women of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps, and their helpfulness to the State in fostering patriotic ideals and their civic usefulness in inculcating morality among our citizens; and

WHEREAS, We have added reason to express to the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps our gratitude because of the gift to our Society of a beautiful United States Flag,

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved,* That we express our thanks to these loyal ladies for their generous, patriotic and beautiful gift;

*Be it Further Resolved,* That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of our Society and a copy sent to the Illinois State Headquarters of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps.

Doctor Schmidt suggested that it might be well to make a motion in regard to the acceptance of Mr. Hubbard's picture which was pre-

sented by Mr. Henry E. Hamilton and on motion of Doctor Pease seconded by Mr. Moore the resolution presented by Mr. Allen was adopted.

WHEREAS, Mr. Henry E. Hamilton of Oak Park, Illinois, has presented to our Society a portrait of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard; and

WHEREAS, We appreciate the distinguished place in Illinois history held by the subject of the portrait,

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved,* That we express to Mr. Hamilton our high appreciation of his valuable, historically appropriate and generous gift.

Judge Gemmill made a few remarks on Gurdon Hubbard and his wife Watseka.

Mr. Allen presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Our beloved Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, has been seriously indisposed;

WHEREAS, We miss the efficiency, the wisdom and the charm of her personality during her stay in the hospital; and

WHEREAS, We realize our debt to her for years of faithful and cheerfully rendered service;

THEREFORE, *Be It Resolved,* That we express to Mrs. Weber our deep appreciation of her services and our profound sympathy for her in her affliction.

Mr. Allen moved the adoption of the resolution and Mr. Moore moved that it be given a rising vote which was done and the motion carried.

The nominating committee at this point returned and Mr. Little, the chairman of the committee, made his report and moved the adoption of same. Motion seconded by Mrs. Miller. Carried. The officers for the ensuing year to be as follows:

*President.*

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

*Vice Presidents.*

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
CHARLES L. CAPEN.....Bloomington
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City

*Board of Directors.*

E. J. JAMES.....Urbana
JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield

ORRIN N. CARTER.....Evanston
STUART BROWN.....Springfield
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....LaGrange
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE C. PEASE.....Urbana
REV. WILLIAM E. BARTON.....Oak Park
HENRY J. PATTEN.....Evanston

*Secretary-Treasurer.*

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

*Assistant Secretary.*

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

*Honorary Vice Presidents.*

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

The Chairman asked if there was any further business to come before the annual meeting of the Society.

The report of the Genealogical Committee of which Miss Georgia L. Osborne is the chairman, was read and on motion was accepted and placed on file.

Mrs. Martha Baxter of Pawnee addressed the Society and in a few appropriate words presented the Society with a lamp mat made from velvet and fringe from Lincoln's catafalque. She also presented copy of the extra of the State Journal of April 15, 1865 giving an account of the death of Mr. Lincoln.

Doctor Schmidt called for a motion of acceptance. Mrs. I. G. Miller moved that it be gratefully accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Little and carried.

There being no further business to transact Doctor Schmidt called for a motion for adjournment which was made by Dr. Pease and carried.

## PORTRAIT GURDON SALTONSTALL HUBBARD.

*President Schmidt and Members*
*of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of Mr. Henry E. Hamilton, I have the honor and very great pleasure of presenting to the Illinois State Historical Society the portrait of Honorable Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard. It would have been very gratifying to Mr. Hamilton to have made this presentation in person had not ill health prevented. Although related to him only by marriage, those who knew Mr. Hamilton intimately are aware that Gurdon Hubbard was the great hero of his boyhood days and that he has cherished this veneration throughout his long life. His delegation of this honor to the writer was, no doubt, in recognition of her long and affectionate acquaintance with the widow of Mr. Hubbard.

Mr. Henry E. Hamilton is the son of Hon. Richard Jones Hamilton and Harriet Hubbard. Mrs. Hamilton was an elder sister of Mrs. Gurdon S. Hubbard.

Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, born at Windsor, Vermont, August 22, 1802 of Pilgrim stock, began his merchandising career at the tender age of thirteen. With twenty-five cents of borrowed capital, he bought butter, poultry, cheese, etc., from farmers and peddled them about town to assist his father in the support of the family.

At the age of sixteen, he induced his parents to allow him to engage himself to the American Fur Company at Mackinac for a term of five years, and it was in the capacity of a cadet of this Company in an Illinois expedition that he first saw Fort Dearborn, October 1, 1818.

In his autobiography, he speaks of his first impression when the canoes entered the Chicago River, as follows:

### First Visit to Site of Chicago

"Looking north, I saw the whitewashed buildings of Fort Dearborn, sparkling in the sunshine, our boats, with flags flying and oars keeping time to the cheering boat-song. I was spell-bound and amazed at the beautiful scene before me.

"I took the trail leading to the Fort, and on my arrival found our party camped on the north side of the river, near what is now State Street. A soldier ferried me across the river in a canoe, and thus I made my first entry into Chicago, October 1, 1818."

John Kinzie resided on the north bank of the river, east of Rush Street, and to him Mr. Hubbard presented a letter of introduction from his son, John H. Kinzie. He was warmly welcomed and invited to visit the family and make their house his home, while he remained in Chicago.

It would not be possible to view Gurdon Hubbard more clearly than in the fitting words of Henry E. Hamilton in an address before the Chicago Historical Society some years ago. Therefore, the following passages are quoted directly from that address:

### The Fur Trader

Mr. Hubbard was twenty-one years of age when his contract with the fur company expired. He re-engaged for a term of two years at a salary of thirteen hundred dollars a year, and was assigned to the command of the Illinois brigade.

### Physical Endurance

Mr. Hubbard's power of endurance is illustrated by the following incident. In the month of March, 1823, he started in the morning from the Big Woods, located on Fox River in DuPage County, west of Chicago, and walked to his trading house near Hennepin. He swam across the Illinois River and reached the house about dark. The distance is 75 miles. The Indians called him Pa-pa-ma-ta-be "The Swift Walker."

### Hubbard's Trail

He had already established a direct path or trail from his Iroquois trading post to Danville, and he now extended it, south from Danville, and north to Chicago, thus fully opening Hubbard's Trail from Chicago to a point about one hundred and fifty miles south of Danville, and along the trail he established trading posts.

This trail became the regularly traveled route between Chicago and Danville and points beyond, and was designated on the old maps as Hubbard's Trail. In the winter of 1833-4, the Illinois General Assembly ordered that a State road be located from Vincennes to Chicago and that milestones be placed thereon. From Danville to Chicago, Hubbard's Trail was selected as the most direct and favorable route.

At the expiration of his two years' contract with the fur company, he became a special partner, and at a later period, he purchased the entire interest of the fur company in the Illinois country.

### First Pork Packer

In the winter of 1829, Mr. Hubbard killed a large number of hogs, but not having received the barrels in which to pack them, he piled the pork upon the river bank, near where Kirk's factory now stands, and preserved it in that manner, until the barrels arrived in the spring. Thus was founded the immense packing interests for which the Chicago of today is distinguished, the world over.

### Marriage

In the spring of 1831, he was married to Elinor Berry of Urbana, Ohio, who died in Chicago in 1838. In 1843, he was married to Miss Mary Ann Hubbard, a daughter of Ahaira Hubbard and Serena Tucker, of Middleborough, Mass., who came to Chicago in 1836.

## Black Hawk War

On the breaking out of the Black Hawk War in 1832, he furnished provisions, ammunition, and transportation wagons for Col. Isaac S. Moore's Vermilion County Regiment, in which he served as captain and led the advance. He, afterward, organized a company of scouts, with which he served until it was disbanded.

Mr. Hubbard represented Vermilion County in the 8th General Assembly during the winter of 1832-3.

## Personal Appearance

In a paper read before the Pioneers of Chicago, the Hon. Henry W. Blodgett thus describes Mr. Hubbard as he saw him at that time. "The picture of him, as he led his Vermilion rangers up before the old fort, will ever remain in my memory. I think without exception, he was the nearest to my ideal of a frontier soldier, of anyone I have ever seen. Splendid in physique, six feet and something more in height, he rode a splendid horse, and dressed in just enough of the frontier costume, to make his figure a picturesque one. He wore buckskin leggings, fringed with red and blue and a jaunty sort of hunting cap. In a red sash about his waist was stuck, on one side a silver handled hunting knife, on the other, a richly mounted tomahawk. His saddle and horse accoutrements were elegant, I might say, fantastic, and altogether he made a figure ever to be remembered."

## Bravery

One of Mr. Hubbard's most distinguished characteristics was his great personal bravery. He once told me that he did not know the sensation of fear, as he had never experienced it. I remember reading to him an account of a robbery in Montana, where a stage coach, occupied by ten men had been stopped and robbed by two highwaymen. "What!" said he, "ten men robbed by two? I wish I had been there and had Bob Kinzie with me."

## Illinois and Michigan Canal

Mr. Blodgett further says, "I may be allowed to mention a *debt, which the State of Illinois owes to Mr. Hubbard,* which, I think, has never been duly accredited to him. Mr. Hubbard was in the Legislature of this State when the question of locating the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was before it. The Governor of the State had sent some commissioners to examine the territory through which it was proposed to construct the canal, and some of them seemed strongly inclined to recommend the mouth of the Calumet River as its northern terminus.

After hearing the arguments upon this point, Mr. Hubbard took a map, and called the attention of the members to the fact that the mouth of the Calumet River, is within a few hundred yards of the Indiana state line, and suggested that it was expected that wherever the canal terminated, a great city would grow up, and pertinently asked, whether

it was desirable that the coming city, at the terminus of the canal, should be, as much of it in the state of Indiana as in Illinois, when the entire expense of constructing the canal would devolve upon our state. This practical business view of the question, settled it, and the mouth of the Chicago River was made the terminus instead of the mouth of the Calumet.

### Incorporator of Chicago as a Town

By act of the Legislature in 1835, the town of Chicago was incorporated with Gurdon S. Hubbard, John H. Kinzie, Ebenezer Goodrich, John K. Boyer, and John S. C. Hogan as trustees.

### First Insurance Underwriter

In 1836, he organized the firm of Hubbard & Co., his partners being Henry G. and Elijah K. Hubbard. This firm did a large forwarding and commission business and established the Eagle Line of steamers and vessels, between Buffalo and the upper lakes. This year, he wrote for the Aetna Insurance Co. the first insurance policy ever issued in Chicago, and established an insurance agency, which he conducted until 1868.

### A Founder of St. James Church

Early in life, Mr. Hubbard embraced the Christian faith and became a communicant of the Episcopal Church. In company with John H. Kinzie and wife, and others, he organized the St. James Episcopal Church and was, for many years one of its officers.

### Politics

Politically, he was a Whig and in the Log-Cabin Hard-Cider campaign of 1840, he with John H. Kinzie, George W. Dole, and others, was selected as a delegate to the Whig Convention, which was held at Springfield.

After the formation of the Republican Party, Mr. Hubbard transferred his allegiance to that party, and with all his energy advocated its principles and worked for its success. He had long been a personal friend and admirer of Lincoln, and by his efforts contributed largely to that gentleman's nomination.

### Civil War

At the breaking out of the Civil War, he gave freely of his time, and contributed largely of his means in raising and equipping the troops and was foremost in every enterprise organized by the citizens to aid the government and preserve the Union.

Such is a brief sketch of the career of one of Chicago's earliest and greatest pioneers.

## Death

For almost seventy years, he was a resident of our state and city and during all that time he so lived that he was honored and beloved by all who knew him, and when on September 14, 1886, at the age of eighty-four years, he sank peacefully to rest, he left behind him, the honorable record of a well spent life. Judge Goodrich said of him,

## Hon. Grant Goodrich's Tribute to Hubbard

"Those who believe that in the world's coming history, its crowned heroes and benefactors are to be those who win the bloodless victories of peace, and by acts of self-sacrifice and beneficence, scatter widest the blessings of Christian civilization, will hold these men, and Gurdon S. Hubbard as a prince among them, in highest honor and esteem."

## Presentation

Mr. President, on behalf of Mr. Henry E. Hamilton, I present to you the portrait of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, with the request that you give it a place of honor in your notable collections.

Very respectfully,

Caroline M. McIlvaine,
*Librarian, Chicago Historical Society.*

## MARCH OF CAPTAIN ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S COMPANY IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

By Charles G. Davis.

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A brief resume of early events of the war with Black Hawk may be of interest and aid the exposition of the subject here considered.

In 1831, quarrels had risen between Black Hawk's people and the whites and Governor Reynolds had assembled volunteers and put them in march toward the Indian Village.

Confronted by an overwhelming army of these volunteers approaching from the South and the regular garrison at Ft. Armstrong, Black Hawk and his band abandoned his village on the north bank of the Rock River near its mouth and, on June 25, 1831, crossed into Iowa.

He had abandoned the growing crops in Illinois and it was too late to plant a new crop in Iowa. Famine conditions resulted and continued the next winter.

At the invitation of the Prophet Wabokieshiek (White Cloud), Black Hawk determined to re-cross the Mississippi the following spring and raise a crop with his friends the Winnebago near the present site of the Village of Prophetstown.

Accordingly, he with about 368 warriors took their women, children and belongings across the Mississippi in April, 1832, and started up the Rock River toward the Winnebago country.

General Henry Armstrong, stationed at Ft. Armstrong with a small company of regulars, ordered him to return to Iowa. Black Hawk protested his peaceful mission of making corn and refused to return.

Meanwhile the news had spread and created much excitement in Illinois. Governor Reynolds, on April 16, 1832, called for 1000 mounted volunteers from central and southern Illinois to rendezvous at Beardstown.

Abraham Lincoln had been elected Captain by a group of Sangamon County men and the unit was officially designated as "Captain Abraham Lincoln's Company" and, on April 21st, at Beardstown, attached to the 4th Regiment of Volunteers commanded by Colonel Samuel M. Thompson, of General Samuel Whitesides' Brigade.

On April 29th, (given as April 27th by Nicolay and Hay), the force assembled at Beardstown began the march of the campaign. They moved to "Yellow Banks", Oquawka, where they were to receive supplies. After some delay, rations were sent them by boat from Ft. Arm-

strong. They then continued the march to a point about three miles southeast of the mouth of Rock River where they arrived May 7th and were formally received into the service of the United States by General Henry Atkinson.

The movement was then ordered that General Samuel Whitesides (or Whiteside, both spellings appear) should march up the left (south) bank of Rock River while General Atkinson with the regulars and supplies should proceed up Rock River on keel boats, the movement to be directed upon the village of the Prophet.

This movement began on May 10th, the Prophet's village was burned and the march continued to Dixon's Ferry.

On May 14th, a strong detachment under Major Stillman was defeated in a battle near Sycamore Creek in Ogle County. A column, including Captain Lincoln's Company, marched from Dixon to the scene of the battle but, no enemy being found, returned to Dixon.

On May 19th, the army marched up Rock River seeking the Indians and the pursuit continued easterly to the Fox River timber, probably in Kane County. The volunteers now showed a determination to be discharged. The force marched to a point near the mouth of Fox River (Ottawa) where Captain Lincoln's Company was demobilized on May 27, 1832. Here ends the march of Captain Lincoln's Company though Lincoln re-enlisted as a private and served until the end of the war.

As a part of the army whose operations have just been related, we know that Captain Lincoln's Company marched from the rendezvous at Beardstown through Schuyler, McDonough and Henderson Counties to Oquawka, thence through Mercer and Rock Island Counties to Rock River, thence through Henry, Whiteside and Lee Counties to Dixon, thence to various points in Ogle, DeKalb, Kane and LaSalle Counties to near the mouth of Fox River where it was demobilized. The route followed is known by close approximation for many miles and various points of the route have been fully determined.

A trace of the march drawn upon the map of the twelve counties previously enumerated shows that the route is crossed by various great highways of the State over which thousands of persons from the entire country pass each year.

It is fitting that the Illinois State Historical Society formulate and execute a plan whereby the march route of Captain Lincoln's Company will be marked from Beardstown to Ottawa in each of the twelve counties. Appropriate tablets of one design and lettering could be used at points on the principal highways previously referred to and would doubtless be of much interest to a great number. Tablets commemorating particular events could be erected where such events transpired. It is believed that considerable local interest could be stimulated in this plan.

At the annual meeting of this Society in 1909, a special committee was appointed to mark the route from Beardstown to Rock River and the Honorable Frank O. Lowden then offered a gift of $750 toward that purpose. Mr. William A. Meese of Moline was chairman of that committee, his lamented death followed not long thereafter and nothing apparently was accomplished.

It is now proposed that a committee be appointed to formulate and execute a plan to appropriately mark the march route and particular points thereon as here narrated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Adjutant General's Report. Illinois Vol. 9, Pages XI-XXV, 100, 175, 176.
Abraham Lincoln, a History, Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 1, pages 89, 90.
Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. II, pages 158-161.
Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1921. Vol. No. 28. Paper by John H. Hauberg. "Indian Trails Centering at Black Hawk's Village", pages 87-109.

## FOLLOWING RESOLUTION ON THE GREAT MONKS MOUND OF CAHOKIA PRESENTED ON THE EVENING OF MAY 23.

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WHEREAS, TheGreat Monks Mound of Cahokia and the surrounding mounds are one of the great monuments on the North American Continent to the life and migrations of its Indian races before the coming of the whites;

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Third General Assembly made an appropriation for the purchase of the Great Mound and the other mounds of the group;

WHEREAS, The Governor of Illinois has actively interested himself in the consummation of this purchase and has authorized the Director of Public Works and Buildings to press on negotiations to that end;

*Resolved,* That the Illinois State Historical Society express its gratitude to the Governor of Illinois for his activity in the preservation of this relic of prehistoric Illinois as a State Park, and further express its appreciation of the efforts of Director Cornelius R. Miller and Representative Thomas L. Fekete, Jr., towards the same end.

*Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Society communicate copies of these resolutions to the Governor of Illinois, to Director Cornelius R. Miller and to Representative Thomas L. Fekete, Jr.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 22, 1924.

To the Board of Directors of the
Illinois State Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:

I beg to submit to you my report of the affairs of the Society for the year ending May 21, 1924.

The annual meeting of last year, May, 1923, was the first held by the Society in the Centennial Memorial Building. It was not only the first meeting held by this Society, but the first meeting of any organization in the building. The Auditorium was unfinished and unfurnished and the acoustic properties of the room were very bad, indeed. We had a splendid program and a fine meeting, but under some disadvantages.

The fine room has now been handsomely furnished and the draperies, floor coverings and upholstered chairs make a great difference in the acoustics of the room.

One of the most pleasant features of the 1923 meeting was a dinner at the Illini Country Club in honor of Professor E. B. Greene, who last June left the University of Illinois to accept a professorship in history in Columbia University. An account of this dinner is given in the Journal of the Society.

Since last year's meeting the Library and the Society have moved into the beautiful Library rooms. We began moving on July 5, 1923, and it took us a long time and the labor was most arduous. The moving of the books from the regular library rooms in the State House was the least part of the removal and was quickly accomplished, but the clearing of the basement storerooms with the accumulations of years was a task that tried the strength, endurance, temper and nervous force of all of our library staff. The moving and placing of the newspaper files was another part of the work that was most difficult and laborious. When I tell you that when we had moved the books in the regular library rooms, we had no space at all for our 20,000 books in the basement rooms, and that the Librarian had to show the State Architect the condition of things and induce him to plan for further space, that we had to wait weeks for book stacks to be made at the factories and then placed; that the same was true of the space for newspaper files, and that finally several hundred of our files are now placed on temporary wooden shelves, that we have no place to display our historical exhibits except about one-half of our Lincoln material—all of our other interesting relics and illustrative material is in storage. In

other words; we have no historical museum. This we sorely need.

I have touched very lightly, not giving the details of the work in those hot, dusty basement rooms. Our good friend, Mr. Martin, the State Architect, gave an amusing account—(amusing to me now that it is over)—of the appearance of your secretary when she went to his office and begged him to come to the basement store-rooms and see the thousands of books and other articles still to be moved when all space in the new building was filled. Please remember it was a dusty basement and many of the books had been piled there on the floor for years. He said the only part of her face that was white was where the tears had coursed down her cheeks and made a white pathway. At any rate he did all that he could to help us and our quarters are fairly commodious, though we will urgently need new space for our newspapers in a very short time. We have no room for the fine collection of material relating to Illinois' part in the great World War. This is in the basement of the new building waiting a place in which to arrange it for exhibition and use by the historian or other interested persons.

You will appreciate in some measure from this inadequate account what a wearing and difficult piece of work the Library staff has performed since our last annual meeting. Too much praise cannot be given to Miss Osborne and the others of our Library force for their faithful and patient labor, but the moving is over, at least the main part of it is, and I can now point out some of the things we gained. We have a very beautiful reading room, handsomely furnished. We have a comfortable room for our cataloging force; a fine, though already crowded newspaper room. We have fine book cases for our Lincoln books where they can be seen to advantage. We have a beautiful Lincoln room in which we exhibit the best of our Lincoln pictures and relics. Our pictures, the best of our etchings and engravings—very few photographs have been used—have been framed in handsome but plain frames of uniform style by the Anderson Galleries of Chicago. The room is large enough for less than half of our pictures, so we have used only the best. The room is of the middle period of the 19th century and was especially designed as a Lincoln room. To describe it in detail would take too much time. You must all see it if you have not already done so.

On Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1924, the Historical Society in co-operation with the Lincoln Centennial Association, held an exhibit of Lincoln material and pioneer relics. The exhibition of the Historical Library and Society Lincoln material was held in the Lincoln room just described and in other parts of the Historical Library.

The exhibit of pioneer relics was made in the large room on the mezzanine floor above the Historical Library. The exhibit was opened on Tuesday, Lincoln's birthday, and for the three following days. It was visited by many thousands of people, among them many school children. Relics were received from several towns in the State.

A large number of the larger pieces were deposited by Mr. W. O. Converse of Springfield. These have been left as a permanent exhibit, though at present there is no suitable place to store them. These will make a good addition to our historical museum, which we hope to have as an addition to this building.

On Lincoln's birthday a public meeting was held in the Circuit Court Room of Sangamon County Court House, the old State House. It was largely attended. Mr. Logan Hay, President of the Lincoln Centennial Association, presided. An address giving the history of the old State House was made by Mr. H. A. Converse. This address gives in minute detail the history of the building. The ground is so completely covered that it will be a source book for all future historians seeking information on the subject. It is an admirable and painstaking piece of work. An address on Abraham Lincoln was given by Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago. Professor McLaughlin's address was very different from the mere eulogy of the ordinary Lincoln address and is a real addition to Lincoln literature.

A dinner was given by the Lincoln Centennial Association to its active members in the large room on the fourth floor of the Centennial Building. After the dinner a lecture on the plans of the city of Springfield for the future beautification of the city including a Lincoln Center, with the Lincoln residence as the central figure, was given by Mr. Myron West. This was accompanied with some lantern slides showing proposed plans. It is the expectation of the Lincoln Centennial Association and the Historical Society to hold a Lincoln exhibit of some nature each year on February 12th, the birthday of Mr. Lincoln.

As this year, 1924, is the 25th anniversary year of the holding of a preliminary meeting at the University of Illinois on May 19, 1899, looking toward the founding of an Illinois State Historical Society, it may be of interest to you to hear a brief account of the early days of the Society.

Those who signed the call for this preliminary meeting were: H. W. Beckwith, George N. Black, Edmund J. James, members of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library; E. M. Prince, George P. Davis, John H. Burnham, of the McLean County Historical Society; David McCulloch of Peoria; J. O. Cunningham of Urbana; Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia; A. S. Draper, E. B. Greene, Professor Herbert J. Barton, W. L. Pillsbury, Professor David Kinley of the University of Illinois; G. W. Young, Marion; William R. Sandham, Wyoming.

Persons interested in the collection and preservation of State history were invited to attend the meeting and there was a good response of such persons. The meeting was held in Physics Hall of the Engineering Department of the State University at Urbana. Your Secretary then as now Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, was one of them. Judge H. W. Beckwith of Danville was chosen temporary president and E. B. Greene temporary secretary.

Of the fifteen men whose names were signed to the call, nine have died, namely: H. W. Beckwith, George N. Black, E. M. Prince, George P. Davis, J. H. Burnham, David McCulloch, J. O. Cunningham, J. F. Snyder, A. S. Draper, but each one of them lived several years after the Society was founded and labored faithfully in its interest. They are the real Fathers and Founders of the organization. Some who aided in the organization and the first work are with us yet and are entitled to our gratitude.

The Historical Society held its first annual meeting at the Bradley Polytechnic Institute in Peoria on January 5-6, 1900. The second annual meeting was held in Springfield, January 30-31, 1901. The third at Illinois College, Jacksonville, January 23-24, 1902. The fourth annual meeting was held in Springfield, January 27-28, 1903, and the fifth annual meeting was held with the McLean County Historical Society at Bloomington, January 27, 28, 29, 1904.

It was the original plan of the founders to hold the annual meeting at Springfield on alternate years when the General Assembly was in session. This, perhaps, was not found practical for all the annual meetings of the Society except those early ones above mentioned, have been held in Springfield with the exception of that of 1911, which in cooperation with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Chicago and Evanston, the guests of the Chicago Historical Society and the Evanston Historical Society.

As before stated, Judge H. W. Beckwith was the first president, Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia the second, General Alfred Orendorff of Springfield was the third president, Hon. Clark E. Carr of Galesburg was the fourth and our present presiding officer, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, is the fifth president.

Professor E. B. Greene was the first secretary of the Society. In his absence abroad in 1901, Professor J. W. Putnam of Illinois College filled out his term. In 1902 Mr. J. McCan Davis was elected. In 1903 your present Secretary was elected. In the Secretary's report dated December 31, 1901, he reported that there were sixty members of the Society. When the Society was organized John R. Tanner was Governor of the State. Governor Tanner and each succeeding governor has been interested in the Society and helpful in and appreciative of its work.

The Historical Society now has an active membership of 1,228 of which 1,100 are in the State of Illinois and 128 are outside of the State. These latter are in a large measure former residents of Illinois who keep their interest in their home State and are much pleased to receive the publications of the Library and Society. Of these fifteen are honorary members, (10 in the State of Illinois and 5 outside the State.) We have 19 life members, fifteen in Illinois, three outside of the State and in the United States and one life member in France, Mr. James Hyde. In addition to the members of the Historical Society we send our publications to 445 Libraries and Historical Societies in the State of Illinois; to the 102 county superintendents of schools in Illinois; to 244 newspapers of the State and to 230 Libraries and Historical Societies outside the State, making our total mailing list 2,249. You may, perhaps, be interested in knowing somewhat of the geographical distribution in the State of our membership. We have in Chicago 202 members and in Springfield 104 members; other points in the State where we have more than ten members are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alton | 14 | Evanston | 16 |
| Aurora | 15 | Jacksonville | 19 |
| Danville | 15 | Moline | 24 |
| Decatur | 12 | Monmouth | 12 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oak Park | 16 | Petersburg | 12 |
| Ottawa | 23 | Rockford | 15 |
| Peoria | 11 | Rock Island | 25 |
| | | Urbana | 13 |

This I think shows how generally our membership is distributed over the State. We also send our publications to all of the other states. We send regularly ten pieces of mail to Canada; six to England; one to France which goes to our life member Mr. Hyde, above mentioned.

I have to report to you that during the past year 22 members of this Society have died. This seems a very large number but we must remember that a great many of our members are elderly persons or persons above middle age. I must again beg members to inform me if they hear of the death of a member of the Historical Society. We are not always able to learn of them and I will be glad if members will notify me promptly.

## DECEASED MEMBERS.

Akers, Mrs. Narcissa, Springfield.....April 21, 1924
Bates, Thomas, Chicago.....July 29, 1923
Brown, Mrs. Stuart, Springfield...(Life Member) October 28, 1923
Brown, Rev. William Fiske, Beloit, Wisconsin.....October 12, 1923
Eastman, Albert N., Chicago.....July 20, 1923
Fuller, O. F., Chicago.....April 10, 1924
Hamblin, Dr. Howard M., Washington, D. C..... 1923
Hand, Judge John P., Long Beach, California.....May 22, 1923
Hirsch, Rabbi Emil G., Chicago.....(Honorary) January 7, 1923
Humer, J. M., Springfield..... 1923
Lawrence, Mrs. George A., Galesburg.....(Life) March 17, 1924
Leaverton, Mrs. G. W., Springfield.....May 29, 1923
Lugg, Rev. Edward H., LeRoy.....January, 1923
McEniry, M. J., Moline.....October 27, 1922
Newton, E. D., Onarga.....March 16, 1924
Patton, Mrs. J. W., Springfield.....April 7, 1923
Prettyman, W. L., Pekin.....October, 1923
Shifflett, Mrs. Kidzie Huskinson, Alton.....June 21, 1923
Smith, Colonel Randolph, Flora.....April 17, 1924
Snow, Theodore W., Chicago.....April 20, 1924
Williams, George, Springfield.....May 2, 1924
Worthington, Mrs. Thomas, Jacksonville.....August, 1923

Among the more important of the gifts to the Library and Society during the past year are a picture given by Mr. George Huskinson of A Birdseye View of the Grounds for the Illinois State Agricultural Society near Alton, Illinois, 1856; original letter of Simeon Francis to Andrew McCormick, gift of Mrs. Mary McCormick Corson of Springfield, Illinois; original letters of Jonathan Baldwin Turner to the War Governor, Richard Yates, dated 1852-1868, sixteen in all, gift of the Honorable Richard Yates; portion of the Washington Elm under which George Washington first took command of the American Army, gift of the Mayor of Cambridge, Mass., Hon. Edw W. Quinn; manu-

script material on Fulton County, Illinois, sent to the library by Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp. This material was sent to Doctor Rammelkamp by Mr. George C. Ross of Redwood, California and includes letters and account books. All material sent as gifts to the Library is usually acknowledged in the Journal of the Historical Society from time to time.

These are some of the most important activities of the Society but the report will be elaborated for the published Transactions of the Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

*Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.*

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

### TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The interest in this department of the work of the Illinois State Historical Library increases from day to day. As I have often said, our inquiries by mail extend from Maine to California, our publications reach all classes through the libraries and historical societies with whom we exchange our publications. In this way people from Illinois who have moved to Oregon and California write back to us for family history, which, as a rule, we are able to furnish from our complete file of the one hundred and two county histories of the State, besides the information to be gained by our files of newspapers. We are still striving in every way possible to secure for people of Southern ancestry more material. We have recently placed an order for a compilation of Virginia wills before 1799, copied from the Court House Records of Amherst, Bedford, Campbell, Loudon, Prince William and Rockbridge Counties.

The Wisconsin Historical Society expects to bring out this summer the calendar of Kentucky State Papers in the Draper collection of manuscripts. This consists of 6,000 documents. We will add this to our collection.

The Adjutant General of Kentucky is preparing an index to the list of Kentucky soldiers in the War of 1812 from his files, a copy of which we have ordered. This will be of great assistance to the organization of the Daughters of 1812. A new chapter has been recently organized in Springfield, and we were able to be of service to many seeking eligibility in this patriotic organization.

In North Carolina the Historical Commission has five hundred boxes of marriage bonds, all those now in existence except as to two counties. These are alphabetically arranged as to the first letter, and I have written Mr. Olds, the historian, asking for information as to how soon these marriage bonds will be printed and available for students. There are also some additions to the North Carolina Wills and Inventories, and we will purchase these volumes as soon as published.

We are still purchasing the town histories of the eastern states, and with our valuable collection along the eastern and middle states, our students find a fund of information. These purchases as you can see, require a great expenditure of money for our genealogical collection, but as our collection stands among the greatest collections in the middle west, and is unequalled save by the Newberry at Chicago, the Wisconsin, and the one at Minnesota, and as students who have visited

all these libraries say that as a working library, this library is quite as good as these great collections mentioned, you will agree with us, I think, in saying that the money is wisely and usefully expended.

Your Chairman has been appointed Custodian of the Records of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution, and has recently received from Mrs. Chas. E. Davidson, former State Historian, her compilation of records as State Historian, covering the period of three years. This consists of historical research work of the chapters in the State, and is all very carefully labelled and filed in a filing case consisting of twenty files and a large framed map of Sangamon County, compiled by Mrs. Chas. E. Knapp, former historian of the Springfield Chapter, D. A. R. To this will be added the war work of the various chapters in the State. There is in this collection, also, a Directory of Illinois on Historical Research and Preservation of Records. This directory includes historic art, records, manuscripts and letters, published histories, names of Revolutionary soldiers and pioneers. This material was also furnished the State historian by the chapters throughout the State, and is arranged alphabetically by the towns in the State where there are chapters of the D. A. R. All this material so carefully compiled under the direction of Mrs. Davidson is in our library for the use of students, and will be of great assistance in looking up family records and locating historical places and events in the history of the State.

Mrs. Harriet J. Walker has about ready for publication in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, an addition of forty names of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois. When all of these are carefully verified as to records and places of burial, this will bring the list of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois to seven hundred and twenty-six.

The topic for the Prize Essay Contest which the Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution is offering the prize this year, is entitled "The Story of My Illinois Ancestor." Already the school children are making use of our library and especially the genealogical collection in looking up family history, which in most of the cases goes back into Virginia and Kentucky and The Carolinas, although many have come out from the "East" and with what family history they can supply gives a good basis for an interesting paper as it is original material that will be counted on in awarding the prize.

We have received as gifts the following family histories:

Castle-Taylor families, 1613-1923. Ancestry and descendants of Lester Delos and Lucy Angelia Taylor Castle, of Barrington, Cook County, Illinois. Gift of Dr. Charles Wilkins Coltrin, Chicago.

Coleman, Logan, Hay, Littler families. Memoirs of Louis Harrison Coleman with genealogical notes by Christopher Bush Coleman. Gift of Mrs. Hugh T. Morrison, Springfield, Illinois.

Galt and Epler families, by Carrie Galt Lindtwed. Gift of the Galt family of Springfield, Illinois.

The Strassburger family and allied families of Pennsylvania. Being the ancestry of Jacob Andrew Strassburger, Esquire of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. By his son, Ralph Beaver Strassburger. Gift of the Compiler, Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania.

Also a copy of the will of Frederick Williams, Revolutionary soldier of Edgefield County, South Carolina, dated March 25, 1808. Gift of Mrs. George F. Meade, Pinckneyville, Illinois.

If you know of any family histories being compiled, please notify us and we will get in touch with the compiler, and see that a copy is deposited in the library.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
*Chairman Genealogical Committee*
*Illinois State Historical Society.*

# EARLY MINERAL EXPLORATIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY (1540-1840).

By Willard Rouse Jillson, Sc.D.,,

State Geologist of Kentucky.

*Member of the American Historical Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, the Kentucky State Historical Society and the Filson Club.*

(Presented before the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 22, 1924.)

The story of the quest for mineral wealth in the great interior of North America is one which has its beginning in the dim obscurity of the ages. Indeed, the first evidences of mineral operations in the Mississippi River Valley and that part of the United States bordering the Great Lakes antedates the earliest continental explorations of the Spanish and French. Paleolithic miners then, possibly the remotely ancestral Indian, sought out the rich copper deposits of Isle Royale, a northern tip of the State of Michigan. Working there in great numbers, as evidenced by their countless artifacts and "diggings", and probably for a long time, they removed large amounts of native copper. Then in the course of time they disappeared as mysteriously as they came, nor left a clew as to whom they actually may have been. When the first white men came into the region of the Lakes—Jesuit priests, traders and soldiers from France—these old copper excavations on Isle Royale lapping the waters of the great Lake Superior, were so ancient as to cause no interest whatsoever. In the cyclic lapse of the ages through slow accumulation by erosion, the excavations had become partly filled, and in many instances great forest trees had come to take their place in them.

The Indians who occupied this territory prior to the coming of the first Jesuit missionaries knew nothing of these ancient miners. Though the good Catholic fathers crossed and re-crossed these parts, it seems never to have occurred to them, nor did it occur to later explorers, that this territory had ever been previously occupied. The size of the openings and the apparent thoroughness with which they were executed is indicative, however, that these early mining operations were carried out on a rather large scale and that extensive masses of native copper were extracted. These ancient excavations are not confined to one locality but are of general distribution throughout "Mineral Range" and Isle Royale. Occasionally entries and shafts

to the extent of sixty feet in depth have been found in which large masses of copper still remain, these being too large for the primitive miners to remove. Surrounding these masses of copper, some times many tons in weight, have been found countless stone hammers, pieces of burned wood, and other evidences of former mining labor. The procedure seems to have been to first heat the ore or metal with fires. Then by drenching with water and pounding with stone hammers it was distintegrated and separated into pieces small enough to be raised to the surface. The occurrence of these ancient diggins was not recognized until about 1847 or 1848, since when they have served as a very valuable guide in detailed mineralogical explorations of this region.

The first mineral explorations in the Mississippi River Valley undertaken by Caucasians were those engineered by the Spanish in the early part of the sixteenth century. Reckless soldiers of fortune, they turned their eyes to this new land with a gnawing lust for the discovery of great riches. A leader in spirit and purse among these adventurers was Hernando De Soto, who in his raiding expeditions through Central and South America prior to 1535, had acquired great wealth. Seeking new fields in his ruthless search for gold and silver, he planned an expedition into the heart of North America in 1538. Commissioned by Charles the Fifth of Spain as Governor of Cuba, he left Havana in the Spring of 1539 and landed somewhere near Tampa, Florida, with a force of about 600 men. In mid-summer he started his irregular and now somewhat indistinct course inland. He first proceeded northward as far as the Carolinas, then southward to the vicinity of Mobile, where he engaged in a rather extended battle with the Indians.

Successful in his military maneuvers, but failing to find any rich mines or treasure, he again turned to the northwest and reached the Mississippi River at the Chickasaw Bluffs in 1541. His explorations in search of precious metals, familiar to every school boy, were fruitless. Murder, arson, unnecessary brutality and repeated cruelty marked each step of his advance. As the exploration progressed the tempting offers of the poverty stricken, fish-eating natives seemed but to infuriate this heartless Spaniard and his followers. Nothing was found in the lower part of the Mississippi Valley that could match the gold and silver treasure of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru. The Journal (18, p. 100-110) of this first great expedition into the heart of America is pathetic in its recount of endless tragedy and disaster built upon the military plan of a continuous advance.

Three years after the landing in Florida, in the late spring or early summer of 1542, the indefatigable, cruel hearted de Soto succumbed to disease as had so many of his faithful soldiers, and was secretly buried at night in the dark rolling waters of the Mississippi. So ended in fact the first mineral explorations in the Valley of the Mississippi, for following the death of their respected commander, this ill fated Spanish expedition broke up, and partly under the direction of Luis Moscoso, a lieutenant, descended the river in all speed to the Gulf of Mexico. At this point, desperately in need of relief, they turned

westward, and the few who did not perish from accident, illness or starvation, finally joined their countrymen in Mexico.

The earliest explorations in the vicinity of Lake Superior were made by Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, two Catholic priests who, with a party of Hurons, landed at Saulte Ste. Marie in the fall of 1641. They soon learned of the existence of a "big lake" exceeding the dimensions of any other of the Great Lakes, and were thus the first to take back to civilization the exact knowledge of Lake Superior. In 1660 Pierré Mesnard arrived at the "Saulte", and five years later Claud Allouez established a Mission at La Point. In his diary Allouez makes reference to how the Indians worshiped Lake Superior as a divinity, and he states that he has observed them to carry pieces of copper, sometimes of considerable size, which they regard as domestic Gods. In 1664 Dablon and Marquette prepared a map of Lake Superior and vicinity which was published in Paris three years later. A comparison of this early map with those of more recent date, shows the care with which these early Jesuit Fathers must have explored every part of the coast which they represented. Overcome by accident, hardship and disease, Mesnard, Marquette and Dablon died in the unmarked wilderness. The occurrence of copper, however, attracted their attention and many references to it are to be found in their journals.

One of the earliest published records with respect to mineral explorations in this section is found in a small volume of less than 200 pages published in Paris by Pierre Boucher. He says, "In Lake Superior there is a great island 50 leagues in circuit in which there is a very beautiful mine of copper..... On the map made by the Jesuit Fathers, Isle Royale is indicated as Minong (the good place). It was changed to Isle Royale following the conquest of Canada by the British.

The first mining operation of any size in this section was undertaken by Alexander Henry who confined his explorations to the Ontonagon River near the spot where a large copper boulder had been found in the stream. Here he drove an entry into the hillside in 1772. The following year he sank a shaft into a small vein on the north shore. His operations were unsuccessful. Henry had originally pioneered his way to Mackinaw where he was engaged in traffic with the Indians. He was a man of some considerable education and had good social connections. After several years spent in this country he published an interesting narrative of his experiences and observations. In this account he describes the occurrence of a great erratic copper boulder on the margin of the Ontonagon River about 20 miles above its mouth, and suggests that its weight may be as much as 5 tons.

In 1796 Captain Jonathan Carver published a report on three years' travel into the upper Michigan country in which he speaks of the Ontonagon River as a stream of considerable size that flows into the lake. He declares it to be remarkable for the amount of virgin copper which is found upon it, and states that the metal is also found elsewhere in the country. In vision he saw the future possibilities of the great copper mining industry in this northern part of Michigan, and suggested how metal might be carried in vessels to the Saulte

around the rapids and barged to Niagara Falls where following additional portage it might be placed in boats and shipped direct to Quebec and elsewhere.

Due to the good offices of Benjamin Franklin who was in Paris during the American Revolution this valuable mining territory was saved for the United States. Doctor Franklin, one of the best informed men of his time, had heard of the occurrence of copper in the vicinity of the Great Lakes. Conceiving the region to possess a possible mineral value which would be developed at some future period, in subsequently arranging the treaty with the English he drew the boundary line so as to include the south shore of Lake Superior and all of Isle Royale within the limits of the new republic. In 1796 the Michigan Territory came in the possession of the American Government, but the uncertainty of affairs which had existed, following the evacuation by the British troops coupled with the trouble with the Indians, made it impossible for Americans to go ahead immediately with mineral development of this section.

The land survey of Michigan was begun in 1819, and a little later following some important Indian cessions, the lands were thrown open to sale. In this year Gen. Lewis Cass, the Governor of the Territory, made an inspection under the direction of the War Department. He was accompanied by H. R. Schoolcraft in the capacity of geologist and engineer, the purpose being to determine as far as possible the truth of the reports of the mineral value of this country. In 1820 Schoolcraft's report on this section was issued and contains much interesting information. In 1842 the large boulder of native copper occurring on the Ontonagon River was removed by James Paull and was subsequently sent to Washington where it is now to be found on the grounds of the War Department.

In 1841 Doctor Houghton, the first State Geologist of Michigan prepared a preliminary report on the minerals of this region. This report contained the first bit of definite geological information concerning the occurrence of copper and the character of the rock deposits of northern Michigan. A few years later, Doctor Houghton while engaged in the prosecution of a detailed survey of the entire upper Mississippi peninsula was drowned at the mouth of Eagle River. Many of the notes which he had prepared were lost. His previous announcements had, however, drawn public attention to the mining possibilities of this region. This unique Pre-Cambrian copper district now swarmed with speculators and prospectors, and the entire region was subjected to field investigations of one sort or another. The first general mining operations were undertaken by means of about 1,000 grants or permits from the War Department at Washington. Altogether 960 locations were actually made, principally along the Keweenaw Peninsula. This portion of the country thus became the seat of the first modern mining work.

In 1847 Professors Jackson and Whitney, U. S. Geologists, commenced a report (3) for the United States Government, the field investigations of which occupied a period of two years. A part of the work outlined by Jackson and Whitney was subsequently undertaken and executed by Messrs. Dickinson, McIntyre and Hill. Though they

produced an excellent report on this important copper district it is singular that neither Jackson nor Whitney made any mention of the ancient mining excavations found throughout the district.

## The Lead Industry.

Unlike copper which was used by the aborigines for hunting and cooking purposes, there is no evidence to show that the early red men or their descendants, the Indians, made any use of lead previous to the appearance among them of the French explorers and missionaries. The French, like the Spanish, were continually in search for the precious and utilitarian metals, and appear at all times to have secured this kind of information from the Indians, as soon as possible after their entry into any particular section. Deposits of lead in the Fever River region embracing parts of Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois, in which Dubuque, Iowa and Galena, Illinois are now situated, were early made known to them by the savages. The introduction of fire-arms among the Northwestern Indians with the inducement to hunt for fur-bearing animals, made these rich Ordovician lead deposits of early importance both for the making of bullets and as a commodity for barter with the French.

It is thought probable that Wisconsin and Illinois Indians were first visited by Nicolet in 1634. Following their dismay and worshipful attendance upon him, after he had discharged his fire-arms, it is possible that they learned from him something of the use of gunpowder. Radisson and Groseilliers were in the Northwest in 1658-59, and it appears that they knew of lead mines in the vicinity of Dubuque. The great explorers Father Marquette (1673) and La Hontan (1689) writing of their explorations, speak frequently of the mineral wealth of the Mississippi Valley, but it is not sure that they ever saw the lead deposits themselves, and there is some reason to believe that not seeing them, they thought them to be of gold, silver and copper.

Father Hennepin's exploration resulted in a map which was published in 1687, showing a lead mine in the neighborhood of Galena. Joutel who was in this region about the same time speaks of good lead mines in the upper part of the Mississippi. Nicholas Perrot, who commanded the French in the Northwest, visited the mines, it is said about 1682 and conducted some smelting in this vicinity about 1690. Towards the close of the 17th century Le Seuer, an adventurer and trader, came over with D'Iberville's second expedition to Louisiana and with some miners ascended the Mississippi and undertook explorations on the Fever River in behalf of the French king. He worked the deserted Perrot mine and also some old diggings near Potsi, Wisconsin, but returned to France without advancing the industry perceptibly. In 1712 Louis XIV of France granted to Sieur Anthony Crozat a monopoly of mine privileges in Louisiana, including the entire Mississippi Valley, for fifteen years. It is not recorded, however, that he ever did anything with the lead deposits, though the Indian and English traders freely operated in this territory. Three years later, in 1715, Governor Cadillac of Louisiana, the founder of Detroit, conducted a search for reputed silver deposits, but brought back only lead ore.

Spasmodic frontier mining continued on through 1719 to 1722. The Crozat monoply was resigned to John Laws' Company of the West without any considerable advantage to the district. In 1741, despite poor mining methods and very inefficient smelting, it is recorded that some 90 tons of pig metal were taken out by a score or more of miners working about four or five months in the year. With the ceding by France to England in 1762 of the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, and the secret yielding to Spain of the western half, complications again developed. Frenchmen remained the principal operators of the mines, and the lead became, next to furs, the most important product of this interior country. It was commonly bartered, the rate of exchange being a peck of corn for a peck of ore. During the Revolutionary War the western forces frequently contended for the lead supply of the Fever River section.

The city of Dubuque, Iowa takes its name from one of the most notable characters among the early miners of the latter part of the 18th century in this region. An Indian half breed, going by the name of Julien Dubuque, made valuable discoveries of lead in the bluffs adjoining the site of the present town, and to invite the favor of the Spanish then in possession of the territory he called them the "Spanish Mines." By the time Dubuque came in, the French and Indian miners had become quite experienced in lead mining though their operations were principally confined to the surface. Their methods, like that of the early operators of Michigan copper ore in the north, was to heat the ore by fire and then spall it off by dashing cold water against it. Mining tools, prior to Dubuque's time were very simple, most of them being nothing more than buckhorn. Dubuque saw the inefficiency of their methods, and he may be accredited with the subsequent introduction of iron mining implements. The Indians loaded the ore down in "diggings" into deer-skin bags and then dragged or hoisted them along inclined surfaces to the open. Whenever a shaft was worked, the ore was removed in small leather bags by means of a rope made of deer hide thongs.

Dubuque was well liked by the Indians and allowed a free range over their territories, consequently his operations covered a wide field. Following his death in 1810, lead mining was continued by the Indians, who in 1819, made the discovery of the largest lead nugget found up to that time. The entire force of miners was necessary to raise this nugget to the surface. It has been estimated that up to this time a million pounds or more of lead had been extracted from these rich deposits. Following the Louisiana purchase in 1804, the United States assumed possession of the territory involving the Fever River mines, and shortly thereafter American pioneers and miners began to make their appearance. The newcomers, however, found little favor with the Indians, who preferred their old easy going friends, the French.

In 1811 George E. Jackson, a Missouri immigrant, built a lead furnace on an island in the Mississippi and floated his product to St. Louis by flatboats. Indian depredations continued, however, and it was not until a treaty was finally signed with them at Prairie de Chien that the red men finally relinquished their hold on this important mining territory.

At this time Col. James Johnson, a Kentucky immigrant, came into this section. He mined the lead ore, and floated the product down to St. Louis by flat-boat. Under the protection of a strong military force he returned in 1822, bringing with him a large party of negro slaves. He encamped where Galena now stands, and commenced a most extensive search for new lead deposits. His mines and smelting operations soon became the largest in the Fever River section.

Closely following Johnson's successful developments, there came in a large number of miners, prospectors and squatters from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Illinois. By 1825 the Fever River district was a boom camp, the population numbering up into the hundreds. West of the Mississippi River the heirs to the original Spanish claims held their mines to be private property, and the American prospectors and operators were warned to keep out. This disbarment of the territory west of the great river materially aided the development of the Fever River section.

Closely following the first investigations by Perrot in the Galena field, came the discovery of the occurrence of rich lead ores in the Meramec River region in what is now the State of Missouri. The find was made by a member of Le Sieur's party, which ascended the Mississippi River in the year 1700. In the journals of this expedition, reference was made to a mine reached by way of the Meramec, about 50 leagues west of the Mississippi River and west of Ste. Genevieve, whence it is said the Indians got their supply of lead. The outcrop which occurs in rocks of Cambrian age had evidently been known and used by the savages for some time. The Le Sieur expedition continued on up the Mississippi River, finding lead ores in operation near the Southern boundary of Wisconsin.

Under the promoting genius of John Law, the Company of the West, or the Mississippi Company as it was known, started active operations in Missouri in 1717. The principal quest, however, was for precious metals, and so there is little wonder that Sieur de Lochon, who was sent out by this great company in 1719, failed to accomplish much in his mining operations on the Meramec. Charlevoix has said,

"He dug in a place that was showed him, took up a pretty large quantity of the minerals, a pound of which, that took up four days to melt, produced as they say two drachms of silver; but some persons suspect that he put in the silver." A few months later he tried for lead, "and from two or three thousand weight of the mineral he extracted fourteen pounds of very bad lead, which cost him 1400 livres."

In the same year that de Lochon made his abortive attempt at mining in Missouri, Philip Francis Renault, son of an iron founder, was made Director-General of the mines of the Company of the West. He left France for Louisiana with 200 artisans and miners, among them being a man named La Motte, who is said to have been versed in mineralogy. The expedition absorbed at St. Domingo 500 slaves for the purpose of working the mines. It can thus be said that this early enterprise was responsible for the introduction of slaves into the west. Renault settled near Kaskaskia in 1720 and sent out exploring parties principally in the search of precious metals. One of these

parties found two lead deposits, one of which subsequently became Mine La Motte in Madison County, and another which became Mine Renault, in Washington County. Renault instituted, with some considerable success, the smelting of the ores on a rather large scale. The product was sent to France via New Orleans. It is not improbable that a considerable industry would have been built up here in the heart of the Mississippi Valley, at this early date, had not the home enterprise, financed by Law, failed because of the collapse of the bank established by the company. Renault remained in the country ten years thereafter. Grants covering Mine La Motte were made to him as early as 1733. (?) But without money he could not develop these properties and in 1742 he abandoned his work and returned to his native country. Following this period of rather intensive exploration, conditions simulating the original again prevailed.

In 1763 Mine a Burton was discovered at what is now the town of Potosi in Washington County, the original find having been made by Francis Burton, a Frenchman, while engaged in a hunting expedition. This mine soon produced as much as 1800 tons of ore annually, and by very primitive mining methods. During the latter part of the 18th century other lead districts in Missouri were gradually explored and to some extent developed. As finally defined they were found to number three and are located as follows: (1) The Southeastern district, South of St. Louis; (2) the Central District on the Osage and Missouri Rivers, and (3) the Southwestern District centering about Joplin. The Southeastern District bordering the Mississippi River, was the first to be discovered and developed. The Central district and the Southwestern district were of later development in the order named.

In 1799 Moses Austin, a Virginia immigrant, introduced the first extensive semi-modern mining operation, sinking a shaft to the depth of 80 feet. He erected a reverberatory ash furnace and within three years had taken over the entire smelting business of the region. At the same time Austin erected the first tower for the manufacture of bullets, and a mill for the production of sheet lead. From these plants he supplied the arsenals at New Orleans and Havana.

During the period from 1800 to 1825 the development of lead deposits in Missouri increased greatly. This was brought about here as in the Fever River section to the North, by the growing security of titles and the recognition of the power of the United States based on the Louisiana Purchase. Under the Spanish rule four acres had been granted to all discoverers, while elsewhere on public lands all were allowed to work free from any tax.

Following the purchase of Louisiana, American regulations were introduced. Little attention was paid to them, however, and a chaotic condition soon arose with respect to titles to lead lands. Three year leases were granted to discoverers by the Governor of the territory under congressional act. Reservations were made from reports of the land office surveyors out of St. Louis and the duty of leasing was attached to the office of the recorder of land titles. Rent charge was generally one-tenth of the ore raised. This system was very unsatisfactory, as few would take the trouble to take out a lease since there was no

special agent to enforce it or protect the lessee. The maximum length of the term was so short too, that the mine could not well be opened and operated during the period.

As a result of the lack of a return from this poorly adapted system, local rules were gradually established by which a person was allowed to claim ground for 25 feet in every direction from the point in which his discovery was made, and others were allowed 12 feet square in which to sink pits over the adjacent ground. These claims they were allowed to hold until they abandoned the work. The price of lead at the mines during this early stage of the industry was 4c a pound; while the digging price was 2c. Costs of transportation to the towns along the Atlantic seaboard were prohibitive. The price of lead in 1819 in New Orleans was but 5½ cents, while in remote Philadelphia it sold for only six cents a pound. It has been estimated that from (1740-1799) St. Genevieve County, Missouri, produced approximately 1000 tons of lead ore; the equivalent of 500 tons of metal valued at $50,000. Madison County from 1720 to 1799 is held to have produced 16 tons of lead ore valued at $800,000. Washington County mines produced 19,000 tons, equal to 9,500 tons of metal on which a valuation of $950,000 has been placed.

Other lead deposits occurring in the Mississippi Valley are found principally in Southeastern Illinois and Western Kentucky in faulted upper Mississipian (Chester) limestones. In Kentucky the ores have been operated intermittently by crude methods since the earliest settlers arrived.

In Illinois lead was discovered accidentally in sinking a well near Rosiclare in the fall of 1839 on the farm of James Anderson, but the deposits were not extensively developed for many years thereafter. The deposits of this section occur in a fluorspar gangue as galena and are in a disseminated condition. They have generally been of insufficient quantity to pay for their recovery as the principal metals and hence have been worked chiefly as a by-product of the fluorspar operations. During the early internal disorders, however, they have frequently served as a source of ammunition.

## Coal Operations.

As in the case of the discoveries of the metals in America, coal makes its first appearance in historical records in the journal of a French Jesuit Missionary, Father Hennepin, who, traversing the waters of the Middle Mississippi River noted in 1679 the site of a "cole mine" on the Illinois River near the present city of Ottawa, Illinois. Whether coal at this early date was actually mined and burned in this locality is an open question. The old journal does not say that it was, yet the use of the word "mine" is at least suggestive. The probability is, considering the train of subsequent events, that it was many years thereafter before it was actually used for fuel in this part of the country. The first commercial coal mining in the United States is recorded as occurring in the Richmond basin in Virginia 70 years after Father Hennepin's discovery of outcropping coal in Illinois.

In the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes region is located the greater part of the important bituminous coal fields of the United States. These include: (1) that part of the Appalachian coal field situated on the Ohio, Kanahwa, Big Sandy, Kentucky, Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers; (2) the northern interior coal field in the Michigan Peninsula; (3) the eastern interior coal field in the states of Illinois, Indiana and Kentucky; and (4) the western interior coal field in the states of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Arkansas. An early knowledge of the burning qualities of coal by colonists residing on the Atlantic seaboard, coupled with the frequent occurrence of coal in the creeks and branches of the western territories, led to a widespread domestic development of the several coal fields of the Mississippi Valley at an early date. In all of these coal fields some local development of the coals followed directly upon the settlement of the region.

In Kentucky the first record of the occurrence of coal is found in the journal of Dr. Thomas Walker who discovered coal in what is now Bell County, Kentucky, just inside of Cumberland Gap on April 13, 1750. Making a circuitous tour of exploration throughout eastern Kentucky he returned to his employers, the Loyal Land Company of Virginia, and gave in his report which showed the occurrence of coal at many points of what is now known to be the coal field of eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia. In the following year Christopher Gist coming into Kentucky from the north found many outcrops of coal on the waters of the Kentucky River, as his journal shows. He carried some samples back to his employers, the Ohio Land Company of Maryland, and thus became the first exporter of coal from the Ohio waters. Five years later, in 1755, coal was discovered in the Indian territory north of the Ohio River in what is now the State of Ohio. In the same year Lewis Evans prepared a map of the Ohio-Kentucky region which was published showing coal near what is now Greenup and Boyd Counties, Kentucky.

It is very doubtful if the Indians in the Mississippi Valley made any extended use of coal for heating or cooking purposes though it is known through examination of their artifacts that they frequently used pieces of cannel coal for making beads and other ornaments. Some tribes may have known of its combustible nature, but the lack of general availability coupled with the almost unsolvable problems of transportation and an inherent laziness in the Indian, operated against its use. In a section where wood and other carboniferous material was plentiful the mind of the savage could not easily associate fire with the black rock we now call coal. In the dry southwest, however, where combustive material has always been scarce, the Indian learned to use coal to some extent at least for firing his pottery. Lest we think that our white blood is so very far advanced over that of the Redman, it is well to call to mind that the early copper and lead mining of the Mississippi Valley was carried on entirely without the use of coal, though the Illinois coal field closely adjoins the great lead deposits of Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa. Furthermore, the first iron smelting done in the Mississippi Valley as elsewhere in the eastern

United States was made by the laborous charcoal process, while coal seams in many instances were found on properties contiguous to those in which iron ore occurred. In the early part of the nineteenth century coal was used to some extent in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana for smithing and domestic purposes, but the greater industrial use of coal comes at a much later date, and is a part of a much later period of American history.

## Early Salt Manufacture.

In the great valley of the Mississippi the occurrence of waters bearing salts suitable for table and medicinal purposes have been known from the earliest times. During the period of settlement the pioneers supplied themselves with table salt from springs which had long been known and used by the migratory Indians and the forest and plains animals. In all parts of this great expanse of territory the salt springs or "licks," as they came to be known, were generously distributed. In Kentucky the best known were: Upper and Lower Blue Licks, Big Bone Lick, and those in Bullitt County on the Salt River from which this stream derived its name. Other licks of lesser reputation were found in Lawrence County on the Big Sandy, on Middle Creek, and Beaver Creek in Floyd County, at Flat Lick in Knox County, on the Cumberland River, and at Crab Orchard. Because of their economic importance, these salt licks were frequently the place of sharp and deadly encounter between the settlers and Indians. At Big Bone Lick which is now in Boone County, Kentucky, as at many other salt springs, there have been found the remains of prehistoric animals. The occurrence of large amounts of Mastodonic skeletal material at Big Bone is evidence of the fact that during the glacial period these huge mammals resorted to this spring for their supplies of salt. South of the glacial boundary which is roughly the course of the Ohio River with a few overlaps into Kentucky, the salt springs and licks for the most part are very old, some of them undoubtedly dating back to the Cretaceous period or earlier.

During the period of settlement many pioneers devoted themselves entirely to the business of evaporating brines for salt at some of the larger springs. Such was the case in Southeastern Illinois in the Saline district. All early travelers through Southern Illinois and Indiana speak in their journals of the many important salt springs.

In many states including Illinois and Michigan reservations were set aside for the production of salt. In the case of Michigan an act of admission of this State into the Union in 1837 permitted the State authorities to select seventy-two sections of salt spring lands. As the years passed the supply of salt available at the springs became too small to serve the rapidly growing interior, and shallow wells were drilled for brine or salt water at widely distributed points. In Kentucky the principal drillings were in Floyd, Clay, Wayne, Allen and Meade Counties; while in West Virginia the valley of the Kanahwa became a large producer. Kentucky-produced salt was used chiefly for local consumption, but that produced in the great valley of West Virginia and the Saline district of Illinois was barged down the Ohio and Mississippi to distant points.

Springs having a distinctly medicinal value were rather common and early patronized throughout the Mississippi Valley. In Illinois there were over a score and the same is true of the adjoining states of Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and other points in the extreme north and south. Some of the springs had thermal qualities, and many are now known to possess mineral properties which make them analogous to the most celebrated springs and spas of Europe. A few such, as the Blue Licks of Kentucky are known to be superior.

## The Iron Industry.

Though the savage aborigine was able to get along without the use of iron, the white settler of the Mississippi Valley, were he Spanish, French, British, or German found it a prime necessity. During the period of early explorations in the 16th, 17th and 18 centuries, iron ores do not appear to have been considered. It is doubtful if the wide distribution of both high and low grade iron ores of the interior United States was at any time fairly appreciated. In the Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan areas, the Indian and Jesuit priests traversed and re-traversed the greatest hematite ore bodies of North America without marvel. In western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, eastern Ohio and Kentucky the great deposits of iron carbonate ore were neither recognized nor sought out by the early explorers and settlers.

The great bodies of brown iron ore of eastern and western Tennessee, and western Kentucky, northern Arkansas and Missouri were also unknown. The large bodies of hematite occurring in eastern Missouri, southwest of St. Louis as well as those of eastern Tennessee were quite unsuspected and entirely unused until the latter part of the 18th century.

Although iron was first made in the United States on Falling Creek in Virginia in 1619, it was a long time thereafter before the industry established itself in the Mississippi Valley. While pig iron manufacture built itself up gradually along the Atlantic Coast, the colonial policy of Great Britain which prohibited the manufacture of iron implements from American ores operated to stifle the infant industry. For many years following the settlement of parts of the Ohio Valley, particularly those in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, all iron hardware had to be imported from the East. The dependency during these times of the pioneer West upon the skilled metal workmanship of the East, is shown by the fact that in the early settlement of the Ohio Valley the crank of the first saw mill, which was built in the year 1789, was carried by pack horses over the mountains to the Youghiogheny River and then shipped by water to its destination 16 miles from Marietta. It weighed 180 pounds and was made in New Haven, Connecticut, for the New England Ohio Company.

The first development of iron ore west of the Allegheny Mountains took place in eastern Kentucky, in Bath County where the old Slate Creek furnace was erected at Owingsville in 1790. This furnace was built by Thomas Owings, a Maryland immigrant,

who came from Baltimore for the express purpose of producing iron in eastern Kentucky. The ore used was an oolitic carbonate or siderite of Devonian age. A large forge was erected on the creek further down toward the Licking River and iron smelted at this furnace was here worked into stoves and other utensils. Cannon balls weighing four pounds were cast here, and were wagoned to the Licking River. Thence they were shipped by flat boat down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans for the use of General Jackson in his engagements with the British.

About the same time (1790), Tennessee's pioneer iron works a bloomary forge was built at Embreeville in the eastern part of the State on the headwaters of the Nolichucky River in what is now Washington County. Shortly after the construction of the Slate Creek furnace a number of other furnaces were built in Eastern Kentucky. Some of these furnaces were located on the Kentucky River and its tributaries. One at Clay City, was erected about 1806 or 1808 by William Smith. Another built in this region became known as the Estill Furnace.

The successful establishment of the new furnaces in Eastern Kentucky was made possible by the high cost of transportation for manufactured iron products from the Atlantic Seaboard to the interior. A furnace was established in Ohio in 1804. The ores used were carbonates, and the products made found a rapid demand among the rapidly increasing settlements. A few years later, 1810, saw the establishment of a nailery in the Indiana Territory, which it is said in that year made 20,000 pounds of nails valued at $4,000.00. Many other states and territories successfully commenced the manufacture of iron during the early decades of the 19th century. In Missouri the extensive and valuable deposits of iron ore which had been early discovered were exploited soon after the first permanent settlers made their appearance. Iron was made in this State prior to its admission into the Union in 1821. In Wisconsin and Illinois the development was later, but in each of these states the mining and smelting of the ore for domestic purposes occurred prior to the year 1840.

In Western Kentucky the iron development was much later in getting started, the first furnace being erected about 1830 or 1837 in Cumberland River district. The Buckner Furnace near the junction of Pond River and Salt Creek in Muhlenberg County, a portion of the western Kentucky coal field, was erected in 1837. After the year 1800 the iron industry saw rapid development in the middle of the valley, and from 1825 to 1860 it was a most attractive business where good ores were available. But during the height of the iron mining and smelting business in the Ohio Valley ore discoveries were being made in the north about the Great Lakes which were destined within a few short years to render the southern industry derelict at practically every point.

The discovery of iron in Michigan was made by William A. Burt, Deputy U. S. Surveyor, who, in the spring of 1844 while running special township lines, observed by means of the solar compass remarkable variations in the direction of the needle of his instrument,

amounting to as much as 87 degrees from the normal. Ascribing this phenomenon to the occurrence of iron ore he sought for it and found it on the ridges and on outcrop at several points. Specimens were collected by Burt and Doctor Houghton, the then State Geologist of Michigan, and were described by them in their official reports. The fact of the great magnetic variation, and the occurrence of the inferred large body of iron ore received particular mention, William Ives, one of the party of surveyors, made a map of the region on which he wrote the prophetic words "iron hills."

The ores found were soft hematites and resulted in the opening up of the great iron ore industry of Michigan and the adjoining states of Wisconsin and Minnesota. These extensive iron ore beds are grouped into seven major districts or ranges: viz: (a) the Vermilion, (b) Mesabi, and (c) Cuyuna ranges of Northern Minnesota; (d) the Penokee-Gogebic, and (e) Marquette, including the Republic and Swanzy; and (f) the northern Menominee (including Crystal Falls, Iron River, Metropolitan and Florence areas) of Northern Michigan and Wisconsin; and (g) the Baraboo and Iron Ridge ranges of Southern Wisconsin and the Spring Valley area of Northwestern Wisconsin.

The rocks in which these iron ores occur are very old ranging from the Archean to the Cambrian. Two exceptions to this general statement are found in the Iron Ridge deposits which are Clinton hematites, and the Spring Valley deposits which are brown ores. The first shipment of ore from these wonderful Lake Superior deposits was made in 1850.

## Miscellaneous Mineral Investigations.

With the extinguishment of the Indian claims to lands in the central Mississippi Valley and the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States following the Louisiana Purchase in 1804, the development of the various natural resources, minerals and metals chiefly of a utilitarian value proceeded in keeping with the settlement of the country. Fortunately at this time the needs of the new settlements were not many, and such minerals as had been found were sufficient to meet the necessities and provide some of the luxuries of frontier life. In the prosecution of lead mining operations associated deposits of zinc were found both in Missouri and Kentucky. The presence of ores of this metal was recognized as early as 1810 by Bradbury at Mine a Burton, and it was later found to occur in many of the early mines in Washington County, Missouri. Schoolcraft who made an early reconnaissance of this western region predicted that the time would come when zinc would form the basis of a very important industry of the United States. The zinc industry in this country did not get under way, however, until 1838 when it was first manufactured at the Government arsenal in Washington. No furnaces for the reduction ores were constructed on the waters of the Mississippi until after the close of the Civil War.

The discovery of petroleum and natural gas in the Mississippi River valley like that of the soft metals and salt, is one which goes back to prehistoric times. When the first explorers and early settlers

came into the great interior of this continent they soon became acquainted with numerous natural gas seepages which were called "burning springs." Not infrequently seepages of petroleum called "oil springs" were also found. This was particularly true of that portion of the Mississippi Valley which rests on the western flank of the Appalachian Mountains. Burning springs and oil seepages were of rather common occurrence on the waters of the Big Sandy, Kanahwa, Allegheny, and the Monongahela. The commander of the French forces at Fort Duquesne writing in 1750 describes how the Indians set fire to oil on a small creek as part of a religious ceremony. Again, as in the case of zinc, though absolute evidence of large deposits of petroleum and natural gas was at every hand, the lack of a pressing economic need for these products operated to hold their development in check several generations.

In the course of boring wells for salt water rock oil was first produced in the Mississippi Valley on the waters of the South Fork of the Cumberland River, in what is now McCreary County, Kentucky, in the year 1819 by Martin Beatty, a Virginian. Oil was found again in 1828 on the waters of the Cumberland River near Burkesville, Kentucky, by another salt well driller. Shortly following this period it came to be of not infrequent occurrence in wells which were drilled for salt on the Great Kanahwa River in what is now West Virginia. Strange as it may seem the discovery of an oil well of any description, good or bad, while drilling for salt at this early time was regarded as extremely fortunate. While the farmers used the petroleum for ridding their swine of vermine and for some few lubricating purposes, the most of it was allowed to waste away down the water courses.

The Burkesville, Kentucky well drilled in 1828, an outstanding exception, was named the Great American Well, and from it quantities of oil were bottled and shipped throughout the country for medicinal use. About this same time oil seepages in Western Pennsylvania were used for this same purpose, the oil being recovered by the Indian method of digging a shallow hole or pocket in the rock at the oil spring. Blankets were then pressed against the seepages so as to take up the exuding petroleum. When the blankets were saturated they were wrung out by hand and the oil was caught in tubs. This product put in bottles or barrels was shipped down the Ohio or transported overland, labeled as "Seneca Oil," and was sold as a natural medicine compound.

In all this time it never appears to have occurred to anybody to drill a well purposefully to secure petroleum or natural gas. It must be remembered, however, that the common kerosene lamp had not yet been perfected, and that it was not known that American petroleum could be refined into a great series of fuel, lighting, and lubricating products until Professor Silliman of Yale College carried out his experimental tests of rock oil distillation in 1833. Modern petroleum refining goes back no farther than 1855.

The rapid growth of destructive distillation of certain carbonaceous shales and coals for parafines, however, finally called attention to the possibilities of refining rock oil or petroleum. As the direct result

of a fortuitous suggestion that rock oil might be secured by ordinary salt well drilling methods, the Pennsylvanian Rock Oil Company was formed in New Haven, Connecticut. Colonel E. L. Drake was sent out by this concern to Titusville in Western Pennsylvania to undertake the drilling of an experimental well. As is now well known the work progressed successfully and Colonel Drake brought in at the great depth of 69½ feet the first drilled for oil well in America, on August 29, 1859. The entire country was immediately electrified by the possibilities of the discovery. Modern oil and gas development followed in the course of which tens of thousands of wells have been drilled and hundreds of millions of barrels of oil have been extracted from the sub-surface terranes of the Mississippi River valley.

There remains but one great mineral resource in the Mississippi valley outside of the clays, cement and building stones which are all of modern development. Fluorspar, the modern flux in the great steel and aluminum industries of America was discovered in Southern Illinois and western Kentucky at the time of the first settlements. Schoolcraft in the course of his field reconnaissance found flurite in this region and described it in 1819. This mineral was discovered in the Massac and Hardin County lead deposits in Southern Illinois in 1821. In the year 1835 the first Kentucky operation—the Columbia mine—was started by a company of which Andrew Jackson was the head. Fluorspar was later found in the Rosiclare mine in 1839, and was operated in 1842.

At first these spars were thought to be without value except in conjunction with the lead. At the present time the lead ore in this district is of very secondary importance. Fluorspar was not operated to any great extent in Kentucky until a good many years after its discovery, and it may be said as in the case of petroleum and zinc, that the birth of this industry now so important to the industrial welfare of the nation was entirely dependent upon the perfection of methods of open hearth steel manufacture, and smelting bauxitic clays from which aluminum is refined. As in the case of zinc and petroleum, fluorspar explorations such as they were belong to the modern, rather than the early period of American history. They do not possess the glamour, the romance nor adventure that surrounded the quest for the great soft metallic deposits of the interior.

In summary, it is interesting to reflect, that while the lure of fabled deposits of silver, gold, and precious stones led the first European adventurers, traders and explorers over paths of blood throughout the Mississippi Valley, none were ever discovered. It is not likely that they will ever form commodities of importance in this part of the United States except as by-products of some other kind of mineral operation. The history of the many early failures to discover large deposits of precious metals and stones in this broad region is a sad repetition of discouragement, disaster and death. Later, during early colonial and Revolutionary War times, the growing discoveries of the basic utilitarian metals, lead, copper, and iron, in almost unbelievably large quantities, when coupled with the latent power resource of the great coal fields of this region, served to provide the economic foun-

dation for the infant American Republic. At the present time these resources spread out over a far flung system of connecting natural water ways constitute, and will continue to constitute for many generation to come, the greatest guarantee to the industrial progress and political security of this nation.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONTICELLO SEMINARY.

By Harriet Rice Congdon

Principal of Monticello Seminary

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We appreciate deeply the honor done Monticello Seminary, in that the principal was asked to give the early history of the institution before this distinguished Society. At the same time we recognize an historical appropriateness. The life of the Seminary, beginning in 1835, parallels the life of the State to such a degree that if we could reproduce accurately the manners or types of any given period of the Seminary's history, we would have a vivid picture of those times in Illinois.

No more racy type, for instance, of the early pioneer period could be discovered, than the founder of the Seminary, Captain Benjamin Godfrey, one of that strong, large group of settlers moving from New England to Southern Illinois up to the year 1837, then checked by the killing of Lovejoy. Captain Godfrey, indeed, represented a bold Massachusetts type as well—the sailing master, now almost extinct with the decline of shipping; vigorous, adventurous, shrewd, tenacious, humorous, of decided, aggressive, constructive ideas. His route from Chatham on Cape Cod to Alton, Illinois, was truly circuitous, covering a long period of years, and amazing adventures, before he decided to settle in this land so far from his native brine. Running away to sea at the age of nine, he rose through all sorts of service, in all lands, to be a ship's captain, operating from Chatham; amassed a fortune in sea trade; lost it in a storm in the Gulf of Mexico; made another fortune in Mexico; packed it on a mule train to take to the States; was robbed on the way; arrived finally in New Orleans, and started for Alton (year 1832). There he entered into business enterprises to such good purpose that from 1835-1840 he was able to give $110,000 for the founding of Monticello Seminary, and, later, to promote his chief commercial enterprise, the Chicago and Alton—then the Alton and Springfield Railroad. These two projects were so associated with his name, that in 1853 his fellow citizens wishing to memoralize him, presented him with a silver pitcher, with representations, in repoussee, on one side, of the first train on the Chicago and Alton, and on the other, of the original building of Monticello Seminary.

One might well ask "Why should a sea-captain be interested in the higher education of women, in 1835"? The answer is found in two pronounced elements in Captain Godfrey's character—the religious and patriotic. He was converted to Christianity not long before his arrival in Alton through the impression made on his mind by the text "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his

own soul". So that upon the success of his fortunes in Alton, he was casting about in his mind for a way in which to expend his money for the advancement of the Kingdom of God, "regarding myself"—to use his own words in the original Deed of Trust (1840)—"as a steward of God and solemnly responsible to him for the use of my time, talents and substance and desirous of doing what lies in my power to build up the Redeemer's Kingdom in the earth". That the education of women would promote this object, he was led to believe by reflection on the chance remark of a child repeating its mother's words, which caused him to think with unusual seriousness on the influence of women and the importance of their being trained in character and mind, especially in a new country. His words from a letter are "It is a fact long since conceded that to a very great and important extent women govern and control society. With these reflections the idea came into my mind to erect a Seminary in which females could, with the blessing of God, be trained to discharge their numerous, arduous and responsible duties". In 1834 with characteristic vigor he said to a group of men at Hartford, Connecticut, who were hoping to retain for Missionary enterprise the man selected by Captain Godfrey to organize the school, "I consider it of as much importance that the institution shall come into existence and do the work which I have in view as that every soul now living in the State of Illinois should be converted." The Charter (1843) asserts: "The said institution shall be open to all denominations of Christians and the profession of any particular religious faith shall not be required of those who become students". In the Deed of Trust the Founder says, "Inasmuch as the design of the Institution is to recommend habits of industry and economy, and an acquaintance with domestic duties, as well as to bring the means of education within the reach of persons in moderate circumstances, those who board in the Seminary building shall be required to take the whole care of and clean their own rooms and such public rooms as are devoted to their use, to do their own washing and ironing and alternately assist in setting tables, and that the rooms be free of rent to all the scholars that board in the institution".

The last idea, which the Founder clung to very tenaciously, despite constant opposition from his Board, but which he finally waived, ungracefully, was not his own. It was communicated to him by Theron Baldwin, afterwards first Principal of the Seminary; who in turn derived it from Mary Lyon, sitting with her on a pile of bricks in South Hadley, Massachuseets, and discussing education while the building of what afterwards became Mount Holyoke College went on.

This Theron Baldwin, a Yale man, and a missionary to this frontier country, was another New England type of the day: an idealist, abolitionist, scholar, and zealot. He was one of that famous Yale band of seven men who came west for the purpose of furthering religion and education. From their efforts were derived Western Reserve University, Beloit College, Wabash College, Illinois College at Jacksonville—all for men, and Monticello Seminary for women. For Captain Godfrey, much attracted to Theron Baldwin, made his acceptance of the Principalship the condition of building the Seminary. In Theron Baldwin's own words, (Address 1855) he was "to fix on a location,

determine the plan of building, arrange the details of the system upon which the Seminary should be conducted, secure a corps of teachers, etc." Captain Godfrey and Theron Baldwin traversed the region adjacent to Alton in January, 1835, looking for a suitable site, and in March of that year settled on the present location. Baldwin's words are, "It was then entirely in a state of nature, and covered with an open forest—the particular spot chosen was covered with the ample top of a prostrate oak. As this region was at that time called Monticello, * named for Jefferson's home (Godfrey admired Jefferson as a Statesman) this name was adopted for the institution". All the early catalogues assert that the site was chosen" from a regard to health and freedom from the bustle and temptations common to large towns". It is also often asserted that Captain Godfrey used his mariner's knowledge to select a site immune from cyclones. In the '70's a small tornado removed a tin roof from one portion of the original building. Otherwise such disasters have been unknown. The spot remains healthful, beautiful, secluded; nothing has ever occupied the land but "Godfrey's Folly"—Monticello Seminary—unless, perhaps, the wigwams of the Indians under one of our giant oaks, survivors of the primeval forest. There were eight acres in the original lot; the land of the Seminary now comprises 300 acres.

For that original building workmen were brought from the east; the date of the laying of the corner stone is unknown. On June 26, 1836, Theron Baldwin preached the first sermon from a workman's shop on the ground. On April 11, 1838, the Seminary was opened for classes. Baldwin says "There were present the Principal and his wife, Miss Fobes and Miss Cone, teachers; Mr. Enoch Long and wife of Upper Alton. The school was opened with prayer. There were sixteen pupils present". In 1840 the Founder deeded the school and property to a self-perpetuating Board, never to exceed five. In 1841 the first class was graduated. In 1843 the institution was chartered by the State.

As to the early course of study, Baldwin says, "No trammels were imposed by existing institutions in the same general region; the newness of the country presented a clear field for the introduction of a model institution whose power should be felt in fixing at an elevated point the standard of female education in the very infancy of this society." He visited in 1837 seminaries in Rochester, Auburn, Clinton, Albany, (New York); Northampton, Ipswich (Massachusetts); Castleton and Middlebury (Vermont); and Mount Holyoke Seminary then being built. All but the last named have passed out of existence. However, the course of study he adopted was largely patterned after his own college, Yale. It included for the upper classes, advanced Mathematics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Logic, Political Economy, Moral Philosophy, etc.

Part of all the earlier Commencement exercises consisted of public examination of candidates for the diploma,—in Mathematics by a West Point officer, which no doubt accounts for the small size of the early graduating classes. All were required to take vocal music;

* Named by Capt. James Webb E. P. Wade.

(Vide catalogue 1842) "which viewed in its intellectual, moral, and physical bearings seems to have a natural place in every system of instruction which aspires to the development of man's whole nature." As to the faculty, the first catalogue (1839-40) asserts "the business of instruction is mainly in the hands of females whose relation to each other and to the Institution are similar to those in colleges. Each is independent as to her modes of teaching and has a particular department, and that so limited as to its number of branches that she can extend her investigations beyond the mere text book." And this was in 1838! In 1919, I received a letter from a lady nigh on to 90 years of age, residing in Burlington, Vermont. It was a daughter of Theron Baldwin! She had seen our advertisement in the Atlantic Monthly, and says, "I suppose I am the oldest resident of Monticello Seminary. I went to live in the building before it was quite completed—It is difficult for anyone now to realize that Captain Godfrey's gift to found the Seminary in those days casts in the shade the benevolences of Carnegie and Rockefeller in these times. It is an historic school, a Woman's College as my father founded it."

And before leaving the man who thus organized the school, one should applaud another advanced idea he held—freedom of discussion, about which we have heard so much recently. We have an original letter of his to Captain Godfrey (1840) in which he says "I believe that nothing is more important to the usefulness and reputation of this or any other Literary Institution than to have it true and have it known that freedom of thought is engaged in it." But the subject he wished discussed freely was Slavery. This was after the killing of Lovejoy at Captain Godfrey's own warehouse in Alton. The Captain, though anti-slavery in principle, no doubt thought discussion at that time imprudent. At any rate, at the bottom of Theron Baldwin's letter is written, "finally decided not to send this."

In evaluating the work of Captain Godfrey and his coadjutors in founding the Seminary, it is worth while to remind ourselves of the character of those early days. The population of both Chicago and Alton in about 1837 was 2,500, of all Illinois 300,000. Travel was chiefly by stage. Miss Fobes, one of the first teachers, afterwards second Principal, came by stage from New York to Washington, thence by stage to Pittsburgh, thence by the Ohio River to Louisville, and by stage from there to Alton. Queen Victoria was a girl, and had not yet given her name to a type. Mrs. Virginia Ballance Bash, one of the Peoria Ballances, who graduated from the Seminary in 1855, recently wrote the following for the school magazine about her entrance in 1854:

"I was born and reared in Peoria where no system of schools was established till 1857 and my early education was obtained in a series of 'Dame's Schools,' varied, as I grew older, by occasional lessons with those better informed. By the time I had reached my fourteenth year it seemed desirable to attempt a more systematic course of study and my parents decided to send me in the fall to Monticello, already a bright and shining light in the West.

"The Illinois River at that season of the year was very low, making steamboat travel precarious, and there was but one railroad in the State, the nearest point of contact with which was at Springfield, seventy miles away. My father, who was a lawyer, often went there to the Supreme Court, on horseback, but that was impracticable for me and my numerous belongings, and we determined to make the journey in our own carriage till we reached the railroad. The roads were in wretched condition, requiring many detours, and the little journey occupied the whole of two long days. No words can describe my delight at the first view of the Capitol of the State, but this was eclipsed by the still more exciting adventure of the trip to Godfrey in the cars, the first I had ever seen."

The higher education of women was considered a subject of hilarity to all but a few bold thinkers. Though all the early graduates read an essay at Commencement, the delicacy of the female spirit and physique was considered such that each had a friend to stand by and fan her while she read. But their subjects were vast. Lucy Larcom, coming from Massachusetts to be educated at Monticello, read at her graduation in 1852 an essay entitled "The Hearthstone and the Universe." The School was generally called "Godfrey's Folly." One of the most prominent citizens of Illinois prophesied that in ten years the founder would use it for a barn. Yet it is strong and influential after eighty-nine years. I attribute its survival while other institutions have perished to several causes: first, the beauty of the location and fine character of the building. A Congressman of the Victorian period said that the two sights which affected him most in boyhood were a view of the Mississippi River, and the scene presented by the original building of Monticello Seminary, which his father went several miles out of his way to show him; second, the high standards maintained from the first; third, the undenominational character of the School and management by a self-perpetuating, small Board; fourth, its early recognition by the State and consequent patronage by many people of note in the State. For here came, to name a few, girls from the Edwards family, the wife of Governor John M. Palmer, and her sister, Mrs. G. R. Brainerd, who are, happily, both surviving. The latter is the mother of Mrs. Brand Whitlock, also a Monticello girl. In a later day came John Hay's cousin, the late Mrs. Stuart Brown of Springfield, and William Jennings Bryan's wife and daughter. Governor Matteson's daughters attended 1849 to 1853. In a recent number of the State Historical Journal Mrs. Caroline Owsley Brown writes:

"I can recall my aunt, who was also a Monticello girl, saying that the Matteson girls achieved a pitch of elegance in their rooms never hitherto attained by any student, namely, they had a bureau!"

John Reynolds, fourth Governor of Illinois, writes of a visit to Monticello Commencement in 1857:

"The next day I was present at the exhibition by the young ladies of the Monticello Female Academy, and a greater contrast of the present prospects of Illinois with the ancient Indian appearances could not well be presented. One hundred and twelve young ladies, students of the institution, beaming with elegance and beauty, were on exhibition

before an audience of eight or nine hundred, mostly ladies. The scene presented to the admiring gaze was never surpassed in the Mississippi Valley, so far as I am informed. The noble bearing of this assembly, the personal elegance and beauty of the ladies, old and young, realized to my mind that elevated, dignified, sublime position in moral and intellectual excellence which the human family may achieve by the aid of a proper education, civilization and Christianity."

In 1912, old Chatham on Cape Cod, Captain Godfrey's birthplace, celebrated its two-hundredth anniversary. Such a different Chatham —if you have seen it—from the days when "its merchants were princes, its traffickers the honorable men of the earth." But it was not unmindful of its worthies. A prominent citizen gave a vivid picture of the life of Captain Godfrey, and his work for education in "that distant land" the State of Illinois! Surely the State itself has reason for a just pride in this historic institution and its pioneer founder—forward-looking beyond most of his day.

## OLD TIME CAMP MEETINGS IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS.

By Rev. John H. Ryan.

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Camp meetings, as an evangelistic institution, while marking one phase of the activity of the Methodist Church, did not originate exclusively with this body of believers, but was the outgrowth of the great revival which marked the Church's career between 1799-1803, in which the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists were equally active in striving to reach the unevangelized, even to the farthest-flung battle-line of the nations' heroic pioneers.

In order to understand the fluctuations of the spiritual fortunes of the Church, it will be necessary to outline briefly, the early history of one of these denominations, which may differ only from the history of other churches in the significance of strategic events, in the story of the early eventful years of our National history.

The first Methodist sermon preached in the new World was by Phillip Embury, a lay preacher, at the earnest solicitations of Barbara Heck, a saintly woman who has been given merited distinction by all the later historians of the denomination.

The little company of believers were of the Irish Palatines, who sailed from Limerick to the City of New York in 1760. Whether this was an earlier service than the one conducted by Robert Strawbridge, in Maryland, is still a mooted question. In either event, both services were held with marked simplicity. One in the home of the ministering layman, and the other under the sheltering branches of the friendly oak trees.

The little society in New York erected its first church in 1768, and a review of the names on the first subscription paper is suggestive of the crisis through which the nation was to pass in the next century.

The first subscription of $150 was made by Captain Webb, a member of the class, and an officer in a British regiment, quartered in the city. Another by Livingston, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and still another by Margaret and Rachel, two slave girls, whose social condition linked us with the stirring events of the Civil War, while the Church was located on Johns street, in the immediate vicinity of the historic spot on Wall street, where George Washington later took the oath of office as First President of the United States.

The Revolutionary War having culminated in the independence of the States, the problem of political and social reconstruction of the new nation was even more grave than that of armed resistance against the Mother country: Standing and credit must be established among the World Powers; forms and functions compatible with dignity and democracy must be approved, new responsibilities must be assumed by

the sovereign citizen, while fundamentals and traditions which safeguarded the ancient State must be selected and saved from the rejected forms of Aristocracy.

The process was slow, and often discouraging, and especially in the religious life and sentiment of the people was the reaction most apparent. The memory of close affiliation of Church and State, French deism which culminated in Atheism—Atheism and Naturalism in Materialism. Doubt became general, and scoffing burst into "a scream of maniac rage". A writer in the Index in 1871, said: "All the great men who took part with Mr. Payne in laying the foundation of the Government of the United States, with very few exceptions, held the same theological sentiments, although they did not publicly identify themselves with him in his attacks on the Church and religion, and they would have completely revolutionized the thinking of the American people but for the influence of George Whitefield and John Wesley." George Washington and Patrick Henry were noble exceptions to the views held by many wise worthy patriots of the time.

Colleges became hot-beds of infidelity, and the reflex was manifest in the social, commercial, and devotional life and spirit in general. Such was Washington's apprehension of the grave moral decline, that he wrote in 1796, "We are drawing rapidly to a Crisis; what the event will be, is beyond my foresight."

The dark and trying period through which the country passed at the beginning of its national career was one of such moral and spiritual desolation that many intelligent citizens became alarmed at the religious prospects; days of fasting and prayer were observed; prayer became a passionate intercession, while a revival of faith inspired a newborn activity, which flamed with apostolic zeal.

This was the beginning of the revival above mentioned. In 1799 the two brothers McGee, one a Methodist, and the other a Presbyterian, started upon a preaching tour through Tennessee and Kentucky Their meetings were attended with remarkable effects. On Muddy River, many families came over long distances in wagons, and camped in the woods. This was the beginning of religious camp meetings in this country.

In Illinois, settlers attracted by the resources of the State, the initial movement in their development, and an intense form of Evangelism were all associated with the opening years of the last century.

In 1804 the Government built a fort where now stands Chicago, and established the first mail route in the state. Benjamin Young was appointed by the Methodist Church as missionary to Illinois. Peoria rose from her ashes in 1812, and new material and spiritual currents began to course along the channels of the old French and Indian life.

Jesse Walker came to the Territory with William McKendree, afterwards Bishop, in 1805, and together they crossed the sea of prairies, penetrated the pathless forest of solitudes, swam the swollen streams, located the isolated settlers, and spied out the strategic points of conquest. The following year, Jesse Walker was appointed to the territory, and at the end of the first year, reported 212 members, nearly as many as there were people in the state six years before. This

intrepid pioneer preacher founded Methodism in St. Louis in 1819; in Peoria in 1825; in Plainfield, the first society in Northern Illinois, in 1829, and together with Stephen R. Beggs, in July, 1831, in old Fort Dearborn, organized the first Protestant society, where now stands the second City of the Nation.

The years following were marked by the rise of men of genuine greatness in the western itineracy, who, springing from the body of the common people, continued to meet the new and ever-varying opportunities of the wide field, as genius meets the hour of destiny. Among them were Samuel Parker, James Axley, Peter Cartwright, Stephen R. Beggs, and A. E. Phelps, each unlike the others, but an answering voice in a united and efficient effort to reach the remotest frontier cabin of our outpost of civilization, as the population of the state continued to increase. In the history of these evangelistic efforts, three agencies gave practical adjustments to work and workers. Conferences and Districts as units of administrations and circuits, providing for ministerial supervision, adjusted to the nature and condition of the scattered population.

In the earlier years, these Conferences, Districts, and Circuits were necessarily very large. As for example, in 1796, the Western Conference included everything in the Mississippi Valley, embracing work among the Indians, while the entire Northwest Territory was included in one District in 1809.

Pastoral appointments at first included all the settlers in a state or number of counties. Boundaries were often indefinite, as in 1825, Jesse Walker was sent to all the settlers between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, and to the Indians at Fort Clark, now Peoria. The old Kaskaskia Circuit, to which A. E. Phelps was sent in 1828, included Randolph, Monroe, Perry, Jackson, Washington, and part of St. Clair counties. It was a six weeks' circuit of 500 miles travel. These circuits covered territory now included in ten, twenty and even forty charges, with an average of as many again churches or classes.

The itinerancy with its accommodating circuits must have new adjustments on the frontiers, where neither cities nor buildings furnished shelter for the eager multitudes who gathered at the appointed places. The example of the McGee brothers at the beginning of their preaching tours in 1799, became generally followed: The people came to the chosen locality, and "camped", hence the logic of the camp meeting. The convenient grove, with its shade and protection, the natural pillars, arches, and avenues of God's first temples, became places too significant to our history to be lightly estimated.

Frequently, communities for fifty miles in radius, "moved with cheerful anticipation to the festival of religious feeling and social friendship." At these meetings, communities were transformed. They marked the beginning of strong Churches, and the occasion for deep and lasting conviction which sent men into the ministry and educational work of the Church. They were the summer schools for evangelization, indoctrination, and instruction, in which as by no other means was the Church unified.

The names of sixty of these camp meeting grounds with those of the men associated with the leadership have been included in this

sketch within the bounds of the Central Illinois Conference, a strip of territory, averaging little more than two counties in width, and extending across the central part of the state. Each of these well known centers have been sacred places to many of God's true nobility. A very vital test being the number of young men who entered the ministry from these communities. For example, from the Marietta Circuit came John, Amos, and G. M. Morey, G. R. Palmer, Stephen Brink, B. Applebee, J. E. Ruttlege, and the Haneys of three generations. From Magnolia: Creighton, Lewis, and Milton Springer, G. M. Irwin, Robert A. Cowan, J. G. Evans, Z. R. Jones, G. B. Snedaker, William Collins. Ira Mozier, Joseph Kelly, and N. G. Gregg. Monmouth and vicinity; U. J. Giddings, S. B. Francis, F. M. and J. B. Smith, William Underwood, A. D. McCool, R. N. Morse, John C. Knowlton, and F. M. Chaffee. Knoxville Circuit: B. C. Swartz, N. G. Clark, H. P. M. Brown, J. J. Headstrom, Barton H. Cartwright. Rock Island and Moline: William A. Spencer, Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, A. C. Frick, P. I. Williams, A. J. Jones, B. W. and J. W. Frizzelle. From Toulon: J. H. Sanders, Aaron Atherton, C. H. Brace, Charles Atherton, B. E. Kaufman, T. P. Henry, O. E. Raymond, William Leber. Canton: James Ferguson, M. D. Heckard, J. D. Smith, J. G. Luckey, John P. Brooks, A. R. Morgan. Blandinsville: S. P. and Fletcher James, W. B. Alexander, Seth and Henry Coats. Colchester: Thomas Doney, John Rogers, J. T. Pierson, T. E. and Gilbert Newland. El Paso: the Toby brothers, G. H. Thorpe, Eddy McOmber, W. H. North, and others, making a list of ten.

It will then be easy to trace the relation between the old time revival centers and ministrial supply. Methodism has never had to seek its spiritual leaders beyond its own communion. Among these men were founders and Presidents of Colleges and Academies; leaders in National reforms, missionaries beyond the seas. Debaters, formed in the white heat of conviction and controversy. Masters of polemics who met the advocates of all strange and erroneous doctrines in temple and forum. In the four great achievements of the first half of a century of Statehood, a free press, free speech, free labor, and free schools, they related themselves to these subjects with such clearness, force and unanimity, as to reveal no intellectual or moral childhood from the hour of their spiritual birth.

All righteous causes, and all conditions of human necessity enlisted an active sympathy. In ministering to the unfortunates of ignorance, poverty, or sin, they remained true to the traditions of those early seers, who awoke the woodland echoes with the songs of redemption.

In the following list of the camp grounds within the bounds of the Central Illinois Conference, the dates given, do not, in all instances, indicate the time of the first meeting, but years in which meetings were known to be held.

Farm Creek, three miles east of Peoria, 1828—S. R. Beggs.

Peoria, west side of lake, one mile from town, 1830—S. R. Beggs.

Cedar Point, five miles south of Peru, 1830—S. R. Beggs and others.

Dempsey, near the Chapel in Knox County, 1836—Peter Cartwright.

Pierce's Grove, near Berwick, 1838-54—C. Hobart.

Cox Camp Ground, head of Ellison, 1837-42. Alfred Allen, one mile southeast of Cameron, 1841—N. G. Berryman.

Bruner's Grove, five miles southeast of North Henderson, 1841.

Eliza Creek, Mercer County, northeast of New Boston, 1842-55.

Pope Creek, northwest of Henderson, 1854-5—John Luckock, R. N. Morse.

Ash Grove, 1849—U. J. Giddings.

Kankakee, 1850—U. J. Giddings and A. D. Fields.

Victoria, 1844—A. E. Phelps. Another 1856-66.

Ten Mile Camp Ground, south of Lacon in Woodford County, 1841—Richard Haney.

Mackinaw, 12 miles southeast of Washington, 1839—S. W. D. Chase and A. E. Phelps.

Olena, 1853—William Haney.

Elm Tree, 1854—J. S. Cumming.

Rock Creek, four miles north of Elm Tree, 1855—Richard Haney.

Riason, southeast of Oquawka, 1840-55—N. G. Berryman.

Washington, Jacob Hoag Farm, 1858—Richard Haney.

Wyoming, one mile west, 1842-85—N. G. Berryman.

North of Wyoming, 1845—A. E. Phelps.

Miller's Grove, northeast of Aledo, 1842-74.

Lacon, two miles east of town, 1845—A. E. Phelps.

Clark's Grove, near Gilson, 1866—Frank Smith.

Gilson, Galesburg District Meeting, 1867-1906—William Hunter.

Stringtown, one mile north of Reed's Church, Henderson County.

Sugar Grove, between Sheffield and Buda, 1861—John Chandler.

Chillicothe, 1860—G. W. Shaffer.

Oak Hill Peoria District Meeting, 1866-1906—William Hunter.

Mount Langum, near Momence, 1863.

Head of Sandy, near home of J. G. Evans, 1861—J. W. Flowers.

Whitefield, four miles west of Henry.

Ferris Hollow, near Sparland, 1861—John Chandler.

Moore's, near the Chapel, at an early date.

Blandinsville, east of town—Richard Haney.

Spring Creek, Macomb District Meeting of Sciota—J. G. Evans and John H. Ryan.

Clear Creek, five miles west of Magnolia, 1863—Henderson Ritchie.

Watseka, Kankakee District Meeting, 1880-1906—G. W. Gue, R. B. Williams.

Waggenseller's Mill, ten miles south of Pekin—Frank Smith.

Milan, Rock Island District Meeting, 1906.

Kewanee, 1871—W. A. Spencer.

Sulphur Springs, near Pleasant Hill, 1871—U. J. Giddings.

Forrest, 1869-70—J. S. Cumming.

Bigger Head Camp Meeting, one mile north of Bardolph, 1869—Henderson Ritchie.

Macomb, on the Fair Grounds, 1874—L. B. Kent.

Dallas, five miles south of town, 1872—Henderson Ritchie.
Bushnell, 1875—L. B. Kent.
Eureka, 1879—F. M. Chaffee, for some years a District Meeting.
Towanda, three miles north of town—E. P. Hall.
Kingsley, near the Church, 12 miles west and two south of Peoria —John Chandler and Henderson Ritchie.
McAlister's, near Gilson, 1855—William and Richard Haney.
Abingdon, 1851—Milton Bourn and M. L. Haney.
Streator, 1890—G. C. Shaffer.
Swegle's, northwest of Farmington, 1834—M. L. Haney.
Princeville, Prince's Grove—N. G. Berryman.
Table Grove—M. L. Haney.
Tucker's Ford, on the Vermilion, southeast of Pontiac, 1850-60.
Avoca, on the Vermilion River, on the present site of the Avoca Church.

With the coming of the community church with facilities for continued and regular services, the character of the camp meeting has changed or discontinued, till in many communities, where, in an earlier day, multitudes thronged to the "Ministry of the Word," even the meeting place is scarcely a memory, and only an occasional reference is made by the local historian, of this very significant moral and educational factor in the community life.

The Chautauqua has come with its cultural messages, and institutes, conferences and summer schools, still seek the wooded retreats for inspiration, instruction and meditation. These have caught the imagination of youth, and serve a noble purpose, but no holier than that which inspired the wilderness voices, declaring, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight," and that at a time when the purposes of organized society were taking form.

## TWO FORGOTTEN HEROES OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

*Jean Baptiste de Vincennes,*
*The Hero of Old Vincennes.*

By Judge William N. Gemmill,
of the Supreme Court, Cook County.

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Few names are more familiar to us than "Old Vincennes". There is something romantic about it that suggests the days of chivalry. Perhaps it comes from reading the delightful tale of "Alice of Old Vincennes" and recalling that quaint old town on the Wabash with its simple folk dwelling peaceably upon the banks of a proud river, surrounded by the great wilderness filled with savage men and still more savage beasts. Whatever it is, this old town is now an enduring monument to the memory of a noble hero who once belonged to Illinois, and whose undaunted courage and matchless chivalry made him a gallant Knight of the new world, leading a crusade against the despoiler and helping to make a continent bloom as a garden of fruit and flowers.

We cannot read the story of America without pride and exultation, as there passes before our eyes the long line of bold adventurers of French blood, who left their homes across the sea to face danger and death upon this new and untrodden soil. Still more do we rejoice when we remember that most of them came not for worldly fame, but as missionaries owing an allegiance to the highest and noblest purposes of mankind.

Among them were Father James Marquette, Father Louis Hennepin, Father Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, Samuel de Champlain, Louis Joliet, Robert Cavalier de La Salle, La Motte de Cadillac, Julien Dubuque, Daniel Duluth and many others. The stories of their explorations and adventures through the great wilderness and along the banks of our mighty lakes and untamed rivers, are not equalled by the fabled feats of ancient gods who once strode this earth.

Such a one as these was Jean Baptiste de Vincennes. He was born in Quebec in 1688. At ten he resolved to follow the fortunes of his great uncle, Louis Joliet. When sixteen he led a company against the savage Ottawas, who had carried into captivity many of the French settlers of Canada. With but three aids he entered the Indian camp at night, rescued the captives and returned them safely to their homes.

In 1712 he commanded the fortifications at Detroit. The Fox Indians were then upon the war-path. They surrounded the garrison and set fire to it. Vincennes, with a few bold followers, made a dash

from the burning fort into what appeared to be certain death. After a desperate hand-to-hand conflict the reds took to their heels and the fort was saved.

The French early established two important settlements in the Middle West; one at Detroit and the other upon the Mississippi River at Fort Chartres. Near the latter they built the two towns of Cahokia and Kaskaskia. These were not only the chief trading posts south of the Canadian border, but were the center of all the missionary work among the Indians, then carried on by the faithful priests, Marquette and Hennepin.

The French Governor of Canada desired to establish a trading post and missionary field along the route from Detroit to Fort Chartres. He sent Captain Vincennes, in 1719, to explore the most direct route between these two settlements. With a small band of his countrymen and a few friendly Illinois Indians, Vincennes plunged into the wilderness; and after days and nights journeying through the hostile land of the savage Iroquois, he came upon the headwaters of the Wabash River. He followed this river until he reached a point almost eastward from Fort Chartres. Here, upon the banks of the Wabash, a village was established, which has ever since been called Vincennes. Pausing only long enough to install Father Senat as an Indian Missionary, he again entered the forest to find or make a way through the dangerous lands of the Chickasaws to the friendly villages upon the banks of the Great River. The distance was about one hundred and sixty miles. It was through a wilderness as yet untouched by the foot of a white man. After many days and nights of almost ceaseless travel and adventures more thrilling than the tales of Spanish Knights, the little company arrived at Cahokia.

From then on it was the business of Vincennes to keep the way open between Cahokia, Vincennes and Detroit that the missionaries might travel upon their errands of mercy unmolested and the French traders and explorers extend the sovereignty of their King throughout the Mississippi Valley. In this service he was a real pioneer. Not only was the wilderness to be chartered and subdued, but the Indians of almost every hostile tribe were to be watched and the settlers protected.

It was a time of great unrest among the various tribes of Indians. The Iroquois, whose native home was in New York, had conquered most of the tribes to the west until now the lands in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and one-half of Illinois belonged to them. Immediately south in Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi and Louisiana roamed the Chickasaws, hardly less numerous than the Iroquois, and more bloodthirsty. All the tribes were nomadic. They traveled from place to place, just as the spirit moved them, to new wars of extermination. No settlement was secure from the ravages of roving bands of painted warriors who knew no law, save the law of Might.

For twelve years Captain Vincennes commanded in this outpost of civilization. Sometimes he lived at Fort Chartres, sometimes at Fort Vincennes. So popular was he at Vincennes that the Indians made him a present of two thousand acres of land near the heart of the village. This he refused to accept, unless he could divide it among the

peaceable inhabitants of the town. So successfully did he guard the way through the wilderness that it came to be known as "Vincennes Road".

In 1736 the savage Chicakasaws invaded some of the peaceful settlements of the South. Governor Bienville, of Louisiana, called upon the French authorities in Illinois and Indiana for help. Major D'Artaguette was Commandant at Fort Chartres, and Captain Vincennes was in command at Fort Vincennes. Responding to the call of the Governor of Louisiana, these two brave young soldiers gathered about them one hundred and fifty white mounted troops and three hundred friendly Indians from the Wabash and Illinois tribes. Day and night they marched toward the camps of the enemy. Governor Bienville was to join them before an attack was made.

Owing to treachery of an Indian under the command of D'Artaguette, the enemy was informed of the contemplated attack, and suddenly at night surprised the French soldiers and defeated them. D'Artaguette was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The cowardly Illinois and Wabash Indians fled before the first attack. Captain Vincennes fought nobly by the side of his brave commander until he saw a tomahawk poised above the head of his beloved priest, Father Senat. Leaping to his side he warded off the blow. Taking the command he vainly tried to rally his little army. Seeing how desperate was the situation, he urged Father Senat to flee, while he returned to rescue the wounded D'Artaguette. The noble priest refused to flee, and Vincennes was overwhelmed by a horde of howling bloodthirsty savages and taken prisoner.

The Chickasaws, drunk with victory, sent runners to Governor Bienville to inform him of their success and offering to surrender both D'Artaguette and Vincennes for a large ransom. Father Senat had fallen into savage hands. Vincennes refused to accept his release unless Father Senat was likewise set at liberty. This the Indians refused to do. While negotiations were pending for the release of all the captives, D'Artaguette, Vincennes and Father Senat were miserably chained to the trunks of trees and a slow fire kindled about their feet. For two days and nights it burned intermittingly while the fiendish mob of redskins danced round and round their victims and struck their quivering flesh with blazing fagots.

Thus died those noble heroes of the West. They were martyrs to the cause of liberty as truly as the patriots who sleep at Lexington and Concord and the noble Army of the Republic who fell on foreign fields that our liberty, once so dearly bought, might not perish from the earth.

"Vincennes Road" in Chicago is a belated but beautiful tribute to this heroic Knight. Long may he live in the grateful memory of mankind!

## JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVIESS—THE HERO OF TIPPECANOE.

The dust of more than a century rests upon the hallowed memory of "Joe" Daviess. It was long, long ago that his eyes first opened upon the beautiful Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia.

He was a child of the log cabin and the forests in that far-off day before the Declaration of Independence, the Revolution or of the Constitution of the United States. He dwelt with his Scotch-Irish parents just upon the edge of the wilderness.

The only schoolhouse he knew was the great out-of-doors. He loved the birds and the beasts, the flowers and the trees, and his voice from childhood was tuned to the melodies of nature.

At five he moved with his family deeper into the western wilds, and settled with the rude pioneers in Eastern Kentucky.

At twelve he accompanied his father to the village and listened to the trial of a negro charged with murder, and resolved to become a lawyer. He sought every book, attended every trial for one hundred miles around until, at the age of nineteen, he was admitted to practice law in Kentucky and opened an office in Danville.

It was a critical time in the life of the young Republic. One great question divided the people. Was the nation greater than all the states?—or, was it only a confederation which might be dissolved at the will of any state?

Those who believed it was a strong, indissoluble union were called Federalists. Those who believed their first allegiance was to the State were called Anti-Federalists. Alexander Hamilton was the leader of the former, and Thomas Jefferson of the latter. The North and the East were generally with Hamilton; the South and West with Jefferson.

"Joe" Daviess was a lover of Alexander Hamilton, and early espoused his cause. Virginia was the home of Jefferson, and Kentucky closely followed his fortunes. Daviess carried the Federalist banner into Kentucky, the home of its enemies, and never did a valiant warrior fight more bravely for a cause than did he for the unpopular principles of his noble chief.

He was born in 1774. In 1799, at the age of twenty-five, he was the best known lawyer in Kentucky. He was tall, broad shouldered and graceful. His eloquence was bewitching. His fame reached far beyond the limits of that western civilization.

In 1800, when he was but twenty-six years old, he was retained to argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States. It involved the title to over forty thousand acres of Kentucky land. No lawyer west of the Alleghanies had ever appeared before that august tribunal at Washington. The question was one of great importance. The title to nearly every acre of land in Kentucky was indirectly involved. The Government had some years before passed a law whereby, upon the payment of forty pounds, anyone could possess himself of one hundred acres of unoccupied and unclaimed land, provided he had it surveyed.

This resulted in many persons claiming the same land. All the wilderness was surveyed over and over again. The right of priority was to be determined in this suit, which was known as Wilson vs. Mason, 5 U. S., 44.

Henry Clay, although three years younger, was a rising lawyer in Kentucky. Daviess frequently met Clay as an antagonist in important cases. Together they traveled the circuit on horseback from county

seat to county seat, covering the entire state. Generally, each lawyer carried a gun strapped over his shoulder, and Daviess always went dressed in a linsey, hunting shirt, deer-skin leggings and a coon-skin cap.

There were no railroads in that early day, and transportation was difficult. When Daviess left for Washington to argue his famous case before the Supreme Court, he mounted all his belongings, then himself, upon a little Kentucky filly and started upon the long journey. When he arrived in front of the Capitol he was a sorry-looking spectacle. His jaded filly looked more forlorn than the fabled mount of Don Quixote. Its sides were caved in, and its tail and mane were matted with cockle-burrs. His saddle bags on one side were filled with cheese and gingerbread, while on the other he carried his manuscripts and law books. He was dressed in corduroy trousers ripped up at the ankle, a linsey shirt covered by a drab, thread-bare overcoat that reached to his knees, a coon-skin cap and leather boots bespattered with mud. He dismounted near the door and hitched his faithful steed to a nearby post. He took from his bag a cheese sandwich and leisurely sauntered up the Capitol steps. As he entered the courtroom, he observed that Chief Justice Marshall was presiding. He calmly sat down and continued to eat his cheese. He listened as the cases were called. Suddenly, Hubbard Taylor, a prominent Virginia lawyer, arose and addressed the court. Daviess knew that Taylor was his opponent. As the lawyer continued, Daviess twice interrupted him and was sternly rebuked by the haughty Virginian, who appealed to the Chief Justice to be protected from his boorish, backwoods adversary.

At last his time came. He arose to speak, and soon his charm of manner and eloquence of expression caught the keen eye and ear of Marshall. When he had finished, the Chief Justice invited him to dine at his home that evening. The invitation was accepted. When evening came the eccentric Daviess was there, but not as a backwoodsman. He was arrayed in all the gorgeous colors of the rainbow. He wore a blue coat with lace collar and cuffs, broadcloth breeches with silver knee buckles,—the finest and most fantastic that money could buy. Everyone was charmed with both his manner and speech, and particularly, Ann Marshall, the sister of the Chief Justice. She invited him to remain for several days. He accepted, and when he returned to his Kentucky home Ann was his bride and Daviess was famous, for he had won his suit, and, at the same time, the hand of the sister of the highest judicial officer in the land.

From that time on he had no rivals at the bar in Kentucky. President Jefferson appointed him Attorney General of the State. In 1803 he acted as a second in a duel. The man for whom he spoke killed his antagonist. Both Daviess and his principal were charged with murder. Daviess defended the case, and the jury found a verdict of justifiable homicide.

In the same year he unmercifully beat a blustering bully who ran a hotel at Danville. This man was wealthy and influential. He sought to arrest Daviess, but no lawyer in the State would undertake the prosecution. At last he appealed to Henry Clay, who caused Daviess

to be arrested and tried. At the trial, Clay used language reflecting on the character of Daviess who promptly challenged him to a duel. The challenge was accepted. As they faced each other on the field of honor, both declined to shoot and they shook hands and remained friends ever after.

In 1804, Aaron Burr, then the Vice President, killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel. Burr was indicted for murder in both New York and New Jersey. He fled down the Ohio River and finally arrived at Frankfort, Kentucky. Here he established himself, determined to repair his broken fortune. Hamilton had not been regarded with favor in Kentucky, and there were but few who were greatly horrified at his sudden taking off. Burr was received with open arms at Frankfort. He possessed a charming personality, and his beautiful daughter was the center of the city's gaieties in the winter of 1805. Many banquets were given in their honor. General Jackson came from Tennessee, and the governors of all the surrounding states vied with each other to welcome so distinguished a guest. There was one man in Frankfort who was silent and thoughtful. He was the Attorney General of Kentucky, Joseph Daviess, who, since the death of his beloved friend, had changed his name to Joseph "Hamilton" Daviess. Being convinced that Aaron Burr was a traitor to his country, he quietly awaited developments and day after day learned the details of a conspiracy whereby the Union was to be dissolved. The South and West were to be separated from the North and East. A new empire was to be erected with its capitol at New Orleans. A war was to be brought on with Spain and that nation's possessions were to be seized. Mexico was to be invaded and plundered. Burr was to be seated upon a throne which he and his friends should establish.

General James Wilkinson, in command of the United States Army, met frequently with Burr in his retreat on Blennerhassett Island. Stephen Decatur, head of the Navy, and many other men of high position seemed to have fallen under the spell of this arch-traitor of the West.

Daviess wrote to President Jefferson every detail of the conspiracy. Receiving no reply, he went to Washington and had a personal interview with Jefferson. He purchased a paper called "The Western World," and bitterly assailed the Government for its inactivity. Believing that the President had in some way been deceived by his advisers, Daviess applied to the Federal Court for a warrant for Burr upon the charge of treason. The judge hesitated. Burr and his attorney, Henry Clay, appeared in court and opposed the issuance of the writ, and the judge denied it. Daviess then demanded the summoning of a grand jury to investigate his charges. This was granted, but when the jury met Daviess' chief witness, General Adair, a co-conspirator, had fled. Burr was exonerated amid the loud acclaim of the crowds that had gathered about the court house.

On the following day the country was startled by a message to Congress from the President. He boldly announced that Burr was a traitor; that he was at that moment seeking to overthrow the Republic, and, at the same time, involve it in war with Spain, a friendly nation. He asked that the writ of habeas corpus be suspended and that Burr

and all of his conspirators be immediately arrested and brought to trial. At last Daviess was vindicated. The Army was sent in pursuit. Burr fled and was arrested far down the Ohio River within the territory of Illinois. He was taken to Richmond, Virginia, and John Marshall, Chief Justice and brother-in-law of Daviess, went to Richmond to preside at the trial.

Before the trial began the President removed Daviess from his office as Attorney General. The trial lasted for several weeks. There was no doubt about the conspiracy, and General Wilkinson, of the Army, was as guilty as Burr. Marshall, however, held that no overt act had been committed, and therefore, notwithstanding the conspiracy, Burr could not be convicted.

Had it not been for the watchfulness of the heroic Daviess, history might record a very different story.

Henry Clay soon became a dominant figure in Kentucky. His brilliancy as a lawyer and statesman was recognized throughout the nation. He fought four duels and was wounded in two.

He challenged Humphrey Marshall, brother of the Chief Justice and brother-in-law of Daviess. Marshall asked Daviess to be his second, and, although he had become a firm friend of Clay, Daviess accepted. Both parties were wounded.

While Daviess reached the highest rank as a lawyer, he always wanted to be a soldier. When only eighteen he organized a volunteer company of young men to protect the homes of the settlers from the Indians. He commanded this company for several years. When the great Chief Tecumseh and his roving band of savages swept over the territory of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, killing and scalping the white settlers, Daviess reorganized his men and called his company "The Kentucky Mounted Dragoons."

In the latter part of 1811 General William Henry Harrison was sent by the President against Tecumseh. He had about sixteen hundred regular troops. He marched across Ohio, and when he reached the northern boundaries of Kentucky Colonel Daviess met him and asked that he might join the army of the General with his "Mounted Dragoons." His offer was accepted, and the whole army pursued the wily Tecumseh to Tippecanoe Creek at a point where it joins the Wabash about six miles from the present city of LaFayette, Indiana.

On his arrival, he sent for Tecumseh and asked for a parley on the following day. Encamping for the night, he drew up his army behind hastily constructed breastworks of trees and dirt. At four o'clock the next morning the Indians made a surprise attack. Suddenly, painted savages poured in from every side. The soldiers fought gallantly from behind their breastworks, but on came the redskins with all the fury of blood-thirsty savages. Soon nearly all the commissioned officers were killed, and the massacre of the whole army seemed imminent. Colonel Daviess, seeing how desperate was the situation, rode up to General Harrison and asked to lead a charge beyond the enclosure. Harrison replied:

"Be patient, Colonel, you will yet get your chance before this thing is over!" In a few moments the restless Colonel saw his dear

friend, Captain Spear Spencer, shot through the heart and fall just inside the rampart. Rushing up to the General, he said:

"My God, General, let me go!"

The General replied: "You know what I think. No man can live one minute in that awful hell. You may use your own discretion." Instantly the bugle sounded, and Daviess, mounted on a white horse at the head of his one hundred dragoons, dashed over the low breastworks and charged into the midst of the howling savages. Instantly one hundred rifles cracked from the grass, and in a moment more Daviess and eighty-four of his brave comrades lay dead outside the camp.

But the day was won! So sudden and so fierce was the attack that the reds who remained alive fled in terror, and General Harrison was started on his way to the White House.

During the campaign for the presidency which followed, General Harrison's political enemies charged that he had deliberately sacrificed Colonel Daviess at Tippecanoe. It was said that the white horse on which Daviess rode to battle belonged to General Harrison and that the General had commanded him to ride it. Harrison replied that the horse belonged to him, but that Colonel Daviess had urgently requested that he be allowed to ride it in order that the enemy's fire might be directed toward him and away from his soldiers. Was ever sacrifice more noble?

"When can their glory fade?
O, the wild charge they made!
All the world wondered.
Honor the charge they made,
Honor the Light Brigade,
Noble one hundred."

One of his comrades wrote:

"When the battle ceased and the muffled drum announced the burial of the dead, I wrapped my commander in his buffalo robe but I could not cover his face, and when we laid him down, the soldiers would not permit a clod of earth to sully his glorious countenance. Then we piled the earth about him so his eyes could look out upon the field of his glorious victory."

"We carved not a line,
We raised not a stone,
But left him alone
In his glory."

In 1830 Illinois named one of the richest counties "Jo Daviess". Kentucky, Indiana and Missouri each have a "Daviess" county. Indiana has erected an imposing monument to this noble hero.

At first the county in Illinois was called "Daviess", but later the Legislature changed it to "Jo Daviess", the name by which he was universally known and beloved.

# THE MANSION HOUSE OF CAHOKIA AND ITS BUILDER—NICHOLAS JARROT.

By Margaret E. Babb.

The close of the American Revolution marked a new era for Illinois as well as the Atlantic seaboard. Before that date the fur trading posts and the French villages of the American Bottom had been the scenes of activity within the boundaries of the present State of Illinois. The fur trading posts remained for a few years after 1783 and the French villages did not disappear but many of the influential Frenchmen migrated to the Spanish shore of the Mississippi. Although the French inhabitants had greatly assisted the Americans—some to the extent of their entire fortunes—in wresting the Illinois country from British control, when the problems of reorganization and the inevitable antagonisms created by living in close proximity with a different race arose—these same Frenchmen turned to the Spaniards, who possessed the same religion, a stable government, and a sympathetic blood. Most of the French who were left in Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, and Prairie du Pont were of the habitant class, which consisted principally of coureurs de bois and voyageurs,[1] so that the incoming Americans soon gained the ascendancy in matters of government.

One of the developments of the post-Revolutionary period was the passage of the frontier westward to the Mississippi in both the North and the South. The fame of the expedition of George Rogers Clark had spread far and wide and those restless, nomadic men—who in all ages, have felt the urge to push onward into some unfrequented spot—began the journey to the Illinois country. The lure of cheaper lands and the opportunities of a new region drew others.

The influx of emigrants came from the South, the East, the North, and from across the ocean. The return of Clark's soldiers gave many in Kentucky and Tennessee their first knowledge of "That province of Illinois", which Collot in 1826 said, "is the only spot respecting which travellers have given no exaggerated accounts; it is superior to any description which has been made for local beauty, fertility, climate, and the means of every kind which nature has lavished upon it for the facility of commerce."[2] John Reynolds and his family were among those who came from the district south of the Ohio River.

The great interest in western land speculation as evidenced by the Ohio Land Company,[3] the Scioto Company,[4] and the New Jersey Land Company which unsuccessfully petitioned on May 1, 1788, for

[1] Alvord, The Illinois Country, p. 396.
[2] Collot, *A Journey in North America,* p. 233.
[3] Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* p. 393.
[4] Ibid., p. 395.

two million acres of land, including the American Bottom,[5] undoubtedly influenced the foreigners who came to the United States. Among these foreigners was John Edgar, who arrived at Kaskaskia in 1784[6] and by 1815 had accumulated 49,200 acres of land.[7] The Canadians had had intercourse with the French villages since the days of their founding. Pierre Menard was the most important Canadian who came to Illinois after the Revolution.

Although the Americans had easily dominated the acquiescent Frenchmen, a recent historian states that "Some Frenchmen who came to the Illinois country after the cession of the territory to the United States were of a different character and were prosperous. The conspicuous men of this class were Nicholas Jarrot, Pierre Menard, a Canadian, Jean Dumoulin, a Swiss, and Jean Francois Perry. These men adjusted themselves readily to the new conditions of the American frontier and played an important part in the building of the state—but with the exception of the latter class, the vast majority of French exercised almost no influence in politics."[8]

Nicholas Jarrot was born in Vesoul, France Comte in 1764.[9] He was educated as befitted the son of a highly respectable family. Reynolds in his Pioneer History implies that "troubles in France in 1790" caused Jarrot to emigrate. He landed at Baltimore and after visiting New Orleans journeyed up the Mississippi river.[10]

The period from 1790 to 1798 is a puzzling one in the life of Jarrot. Sources which are untrustworthy on other dates, have stated that he settled in Cahokia in 1794,[11] while some of his descendants believe that he came up the river and settled at Ste. Genevieve for several years, becoming a permanent resident of Cahokia in 1798.[12] The most reliable fact that can be found is the record of the Grand Jury of St. Clair County in 1796 when Nicholas Jarrot was a member.[13] Jarrot must at that time have been a resident of Cahokia because Randolph County, including the Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher districts had been erected in 1795.[14] There are records of property sold to Jarrot in Cahokia in 1793 and 1795[15] but it would have been quite possible for him to have purchased property while not residing there. He married Mademoiselle Marie Barbeau of Prairie du Rocher and Mademoiselle Julia Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve and that would lead one to suppose that he was quite well known among all the southern French villages.

Just why did Nicholas Jarrot choose to live in Cahokia. A great rivalry existed between Kaskaskia and Cahokia which led to the division of St. Clair County. A Kaskaskian spoke of Cahokia in the most slighting terms, asserting that there was nothing beautiful in that village. It had a sluggish, muddy creek and was surrounded by ponds

[5] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 396.
[6] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 91, 92.
[7] Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, vol. 1 pp. 200, 201.
[8] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 408.
[9] Tombstone of Nicholas Jarrot.
[10] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 175.
[11] Ibid., p. 175.
[12] Sibley Letters.
[13] *History of St. Clair County* (Wilderman), vol. 11, p. 700.
[14] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 406.
[15] *History of St. Clair County* (Brink), p. 75.

and marshes "exhaling mephitic vapors charged with ague-breeding miasma."[16] The malarial fever of those days was the most serious objection to living in Illinois.

Cahokia was fortunate in not being selected for the governmental headquarters of the territory. It was saved from the continual disorder and strife between the military and civil powers and the inhabitants, which disturbed Kaskaskia. The Cahokia court had carried on during the period of the "City States" in a most admirable manner and had given that small municipality a peaceful and well-regulated air quite in contrast to its more turbulent neighbor.[17]

Cahokia had other advantages. It was in that fertile flood plain of the Mississippi known as the American Bottom. For fur traders it had the added expediency of being near the junction point of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. A deciding factor in Monsieur Jarrot's choice may have been the vision of the period of Cahokia's greatness, short as it proved to be.

A contemporary states that Jarrot "came a poor man without fortune or friends."[18] As soon as possible he bought a small supply of Indian goods and became a fur trader—an occupation which he continued throughout his life.

Mademoiselle Marie Barbeau of Prairie du Rocher was the first wife of Nicholas Jarrot.[19] She died in a few years and left a small daughter, Elise, who later in 1811 married a Dr. Tiffin.[20]

At his second wedding in 1797 Jarrot married Mademoiselle Julia Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve, formerly of Kaskaskia.[21]

Now indeed was Monsieur Jarrot considered among the aristocratic French of the Illinois. The Beauvais were among the most influential families in Kaskaskia. In 1765 a member of this family had owned eighty slaves and had furnished to the royal magazine eighty-six thousand weight of flour which was only a part of one year's harvest.[22]

To Julia came the heritage of the wedding ring, silver ladle, spoons and cups which had been given to her mother Felicite Janis when she married Vital Beauvais in 1776. Trosseau gowns from France—even cloth of gold—what treasures these things must have been to a proud French bride. When Nicholas led his bride away from the home of her father in gay little Ste. Genevieve is it to be wondered that she shed tears at the thought of leaving her family and friends?[23]

The year 1798 found this young couple in Cahokia, living in a wooden house across the street from the church of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec.[24] Not content until he had a house which would be suitable for one of his increasing fortune, this ambitious and energetic young man began building the mansion which today stands as a monument to his efforts.

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[16] Breese, *Early History of Illinois*, p. 153.
[17] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 374.
[18] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 175.
[19] Ibid., p. 178.
[20] Sibley Letters.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 216.
[23] Sibley Letters.
[24] Ibid.

The site chosen was just east of the church. Even as the church was the institution about which the lives of the Frenchmen revolved—so the house standing beside it became the center of hospitality for the region. To embody the idea of the permanence of the fortune and family that this French emigrant hoped to establish in America—nothing would be so appropriate as brick.

A brick house was a large task. There was only one other in all the Mississippi valley, and that at Kaskaskia.[25] All the bricks had to be made on the place. In 1799 the work commenced and continued until 1806. During that time the window panes had been sent over from France. There were no iron nails, wooden pins were used where they were needed.[26]

The house itself is a two story and attic structure, thirty-eight by fifty feet, and the plan chosen was what we now consider the Colonial type. The large hall, which was sixteen feet wide,[27] occupied the center of the ground floor plan and extended the length of the house. There were five other rooms downstairs, two on each side of the hall, with the kitchen at the rear on the east side. The stairs at the back of the hall led up to the second floor, where a large ballroom extended across the front of the house. There was a bedroom on the east side and one on the west. One entered the latter from the stair landing.

This structure rested upon a foundation of black walnut timbers with about two feet exposed and several feet hidden underground. These timbers lay upon bedded charcoal, which in turn was separated from the earth beneath by a layer of sand and gravel.[28] Such care in the foundation planning was necessary for a building whose outside walls were eighteen inches thick and whose partition walls were also made of brick and were sixteen inches in thickness.[29] Even the roof was built to endure—it lasted one hundred years.[30]

The hall became the center of the life of the house. Here before the huge fireplace on the western wall guests were received, while the children peeped over the railing of the stairs to see who had come. This hall was used as the dining room and a slave stood at each end with a huge fan to keep the flies from annoying those in the room.[31]

From the year 1806 the house became the home of generations of Jarrots. Julia and Nicholas Jarrot had six children. Ortance, the French Hortense, the oldest child was born in 1799. The other children were Melanie, Eugenie, Francois, Vital, Julia, and Felicite.[32] Governor John Reynolds states that Nicholas Jarrot's "kindness of heart and urbanity of manner" attracted many visitors to his mansion, where they were received and entertained by him and his interesting family in a polished and elegant style. * * * * Mrs. Jarrot possessed a strong mind together with a mild and amiable disposition and was a great support and solace to her husband.[33]

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[25] *History of St. Clair County* (Wilderman), vol. 11, p. 784.
[26] Sibley Letters.
[27] *History of St. Clair County* (Wilderman), Vol. 11, pp. 784, 785.
[28] Ibid.
[29] *History of St. Clair County* (Brink), p. 329.
[30] Sibley Letters.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 178.

The amusements of Cahokia in the early years of the Nineteenth Century were much the same as those of the other French settlements. The church had a large share in the sociay life of the community as well as in the spiritual. After a prayer had been said at mass for the patron saint of the particular feast day, the usual procedure was to dance away the hours in as light hearted a manner as the twinkling feet of the dancers. What gaiety and endurance—a traveller wrote "the balls are usually opened at candlelight and continue until ten or twelve o'clock the next day. One ball follows another so closely in succession that I have often wondered how the ladies are enabled to support themselves under this violent exercise which is here carried to extremes."[34]

There were several excuses for balls—Sunday evening, feast days and the carnival were quite the correct occasions for dancing. The return of the fur traders was a time for joy, and dancing.[35] If a stranger had been in a town for two or three weeks, he of course had enjoyed the hospitality of the villagers' homes and they expected in return—another ball. These balls cost one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars and a young man wrote home that he could scarcely afford such expenditure.[36]

The gala season of the year began at Christmas and continued through the Carnival season into Lent. One of the pretty customs of the Christmas mass was the choosing of young maidens of the congregation to take up the collection. Felicite Jarrot was doing this one year when the alarm of fire was given. The old Cahokia Church was threatened but not destroyed. During the Holidays young men dressed as beggars danced into the homes of those who were thus invited to attend the ball to dance away the old year. On New Years Day it was customary to kiss when you met an acquaintance. Barriers were temporarily torn down, slaves kissed their master and their mistresses, signifying general good will.[39]

About the sixth of January—'le Jour de Rois'—a large party was given and a huge cake containing four beans was baked and served only to the gentlemen. Those who received the beans were the kings of the Carnival and it was their duty to give the first ball of the season. They each chose a queen and the royal couples opened the ball. The queens in turn chose kings, who chose queens—and the hosts and hostesses for the next ball were assured. So the merriment continued. The usual refreshments at such affairs were cake and coffee or bouillon.[40] The guests at such parties did not just dance. The gentlemen had other entertainment. A room was always set aside for cards. "Vingt-un" was the favorite game. A traveller in 1807 wrote, "Never did I see people embark with so much spirit and perserverance to win each others money—I have frequently known them to sit thirty hours at the same

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[34] Schultz, *Travels on An Inland Voyage*, Vol. 11, p. 60.
[35] Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 183.
[36] Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, vol. 11, p. 62.
[37] Sibley Letters.
[38] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 52.
[39] Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, vol. 11, p. 65.
[40] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 52.

table without any other refreshment than a dish of coffee or a glass of claret."[41]

Many week-ends at the Jarrot mansion were spent in gambling. We can imagine the genial host surrounded by the Bonds, John Reynolds, Governor Ninian Edwards, perhaps Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia, or visiting relatives seated at a table in the candle light, intent upon their game. Before the day of banking facilities, each man kept a considerable part of his fortune in coin in his own home. Nicholas Jarrot kept his silver in a large horsehair chest upstairs. A small red trunk held the more precious goldpieces. When luck was running against Jarrot or one of his guests wished to be accommodated, he gave the key to a slave and sent him up to get "so many scoops of the little yellow fellows." That same little red trunk with the original key may today be seen in the Memorial Hall in Washington.[42]

Shrove Tuesday was Pancake Tuesday. At the parties on Tuesday night the French pancakes, piled high and cut like cake were served. Those pancakes were as thin as paper and were made from sweet milk.[43] This was almost the last event before Lent, as the next day—Ash Wednesday—at matins prime every one went to church to have the priest sprinkle ashes upon their foreheads—signifying the end.[44]

In addition to dancing and cards, the Frenchmen delighted in billiards.[45] Young and old took part in the "chivaris" or serenade. They created such a din with horns, drums, pans, kettles, and whistles that the newly wedded paid were driven to entertaining them, just to make them cease their noise.[46]

Love of pleasure was not the only characteristic of the Frenchmen. They settled in villages, which shows their sociable natures. There they raised their beloved families. Generation after generation lived amicably together due to their innate politeness.[47] The whitewashed houses amid many flowers, all enclosed by picket fences made a picturesque background[48] for the quaint costumes topped by the blue handkerchiefs which they always wore about their heads.[49] Separated by distance from the educational advantages of the country, accustomed to privation and at times almost superhuman efforts in subduing the wilderness no doubt they were for the most part "rovers—ignorant, superstitious and obstinate."[50] To counterbalance these defects were the merits of hospitality, fearlessness, and although drunken they were not as vicious as the American backwoodsmen.[51]

The gentry, composed of the bourgeoisie and the nobility were not unlike the same class in Virginia. They still retained the love of their mother country, which in this case was la belle France, and in many instances clung to her customs and language. Years later Julia Jarrot was out hunting persimmons with some of her grandchildren. She

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[41] Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, vol. 11, p. 61.
[42] Sibley Letters.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Breese, *Early History of Illinois*, p. 212.
[45] Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 189.
[46] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 145, 146.
[47] Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 192.
[48] Flagg, *The Far West*, vol. 11, p. 227.
[49] Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, vol. 1, p. 105.
[50] Collot, *A Journey in North America*, p. 232.
[51] Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 1778-1790, p. XVIII.

saw a farmer approaching and called, "Mistaire, Mistaire, will you tell me where I can find persimonie?"

"Oh, madam, have you lost your purse o' money?"

The grandchildren pulled at Mme. Jarrot's skirt and kept saying, "Grandmere, it is persimmons."

But the lady insisted, "No, persimonie."[52]

The social life of the French in the Illinois was built upon a foundation of slavery just as in Virginia. When Virginia gave Illinois to the United States Government in 1784, she did so on the condition that the French be allowed to keep their property, which term was interpreted to mean slaves. Governor St. Clair after the Ordinance of 1787, in order to avoid friction in that critical period, construed the slavery clause to mean that no more slaves should be brought into the territory.[53]

Agitation continued and in 1796 John Edgar, William Morrison, William St. Clair, and John du Moulin forwarded a petition to Congress for the repeal of the Anti-Slavery article.[54]

The Black Laws of 1805, 1807 again adjusted this ever present problem. These laws ordered that males under the age of fifteen, already in service, should continue to work for their masters until they attained the age of thirty-five, when they should obtain their freedom. Women under fifteen were ordered to serve their master until they became thirty-two. Boys could be bound out for thirty years and girls for twenty-eight years.[55] Thus the situation continued until 1845 when an Illinois Supreme Court decision liberated all the slaves in the State —French or otherwise. This was the famous Jarrot vs. Jarrot case, wherein the court decreed that the Ordinance of 1787 had applied to all negroes in the Northwest Territory.[56]

The French in many ways were lenient masters. Their wives spun linsey for the negroes' clothes and they were taught the catechism. One day the Jarrot family heard the cook's baby crying down in the basement. Ortance went to investigate and found that the cook had run away and abandoned the child. Ortance named him Louis and took charge of the boy. So kind was this supervision that when the slave became old enough to obtain his freedom he did not want to go. Later on the wedding night of Maria Brackett, daughter of Ortance, in 1841 Louis took a vacation from his job on a Mississippi steamboat, came back to Cahokia and cooked the wedding breakfast. After performing this act of devotion, he returned to his work and that very night the steamboat blew up.[57]

Major Jarrot, as he was commonly known, was most active and energetic and gave an almost "incessant application to business." His earliest ventures were in the Indian trade. He kept a small store in Cahokia with everything that was needed for the market at that place. This Indian traffic in early times was very lucrative sometimes as much as two or three hundred percent was realized on goods sold to the

[52] Sibley Letters.
[53] Nida, *The Story of Illinois and Its Peoples*, p. 181.
[54] Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, p. 313.
[55] Nida, *The Story of Illinois and its Peoples*, p. 182.
[56] *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions*, 1910, p. 45.
[57] Sibley Letters.

savages.[58] His operations were not confined within a small radius of Cahokia. Major Jarrot traveled through the Illinois river district and further north. His position was strengthened because he had held county offices. In the early days of Illinois Territory the jurisdiction of the St. Clair county courts extended over Illinois north even to Prairie de Chien.[59]

A letter to the Secretary of War dated February 2, 1811 relates that "Prairie du Chien is an old Indian town, which was sold by the Indians to the Canadian traders about thirty years ago; where they have ever since taken their merchandise, from which place it was sent in various direction. * * * The whole settlement contains one hundred families. The men are generally French Canadians, most of whom have married Indian wives. * * * They annually dispose of eighty thousand pounds of flour to the traders and the Indians. * * * The Canadians endeavor to incite the Indians against us—for trade and for war."[60]

In peaceful times the trip up to Prairie du Chien was a pleasant adventure and Major Jarrot would take his family up the river with him. They made the journey in a keel boat.[61] The keel boat was a long and narrow affair, sharp at the bow and stern and of light draft. Fifteen or twenty men were required to propel it by exerting force against a series of long poles on either side of the boat.[62]If one avoided snags and did not run aground the journey was pleasant enough. On one trip Ortance dropped a small silver cup in the river. This was one of twelve cherished by her mother. In that day it could not be replaced so Mme. Jarrot had the remaining eleven melted and made into a large silver mug.[63]

We can find records of Major Jarrot's visits to Prairie du Chien in letters of that day. The one quoted below is a letter of Zebulon Pike to General Wilkinson.

"Prairie du Chien, April 18, 1806.

DEAR GENERAL:

I arrived here within the hour, and as Mr. Jerreau of Cahokia embarks for St. Louis early tomorrow morning, I embrace this opportunity to give a slight sketch of the events of my expedition."[64]

In his journal, we find

"April 18, 1806. Arrived Prairie des Chiens at two o'clock, and were received by crowds on the bank. * * * A Mr. Jerreau from Cahokia is here, who embarks tomorrow for St. Louis. I wrote General Wilkinson by him.

April 19. Dined at Mr. Campbell's in company with Messrs. Wilmot, Blakely, Wood, Rollet, Fisher, Frazer and Jerreau."[65]

It was customary for the Indian traders to make Prairie du Chien the main depot for their goods. Then they carried articles out to the hunting grounds. Before the War of 1812 when the British were arousing the Indians against the Americans, Jarrot with two men had

[58] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 175, 176.
[59] Brown, *The History of Illinois*, p. 273.
[60] Edwards, *History of Illinois and the Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, pp. 98, 99.
[61] Sibley Letters.
[62] Ferriss, *The States and Territories of the Great West*, p. 202.
[63] Sibley Letters.
[64] Coues, Expedition of Zebulon Pike, vol. 1, p. 263.
[65] Ibid., pp. 206, 207.

gone out to a large Indian camp. The traders were armed only with shotguns and the Indians came toward them in a most menacing manner. Just at the crucial moment, a Winnebago chief stepped in front of Jarrot, brandishing his tomahawk, and stopped the oncoming Indians. This brave Indian was known thereafter as Jarrot and was seen as late as 1829 in Galena by John Reynolds.[66]

Major Jarrot's influence with the Indians was also made evident when the savages carried off the two small children of Samuel Garrison and took them as prisoners to their village on the Saline Fork of the Sangamon, "where they were kept for about a year but were finally ransomed by Colonel N. Jarret of Cahokia."[67]

Furs were not the only source of the wealth of Nicholas Jarrot. One of the first records that can be found of the sale of land in St. Clair County was on February 5, 1793. About a month later, March 30, 1793 the home of Joseph Marie was sold to Nicholas Jarrot for two hundred dollars. March 12, 1795, Phillip Engel sold a four hundred acre tract near Sugar Loaf Mound to Nicholas Jarrot for two hundred dollars.[68] On page five, of Book A. of the Records of the Orphans Court, the sale of two arpents of land to Nicholas Jarrot was confirmed.[69] These are only a few examples of the record of acquisition. Land titles were very complicated. Lands had been taken up under different regimes, some people were just squatters, grants had been made for military service, settlers had invested too heavily and could not meet their payments, and the French who had migrated into Spanish America wished to get rid of their holdings east of the Mississippi. The United States in striving to untangle this confusion ordered that all land should be surveyed, and some could not afford it and wanted to sell their property.[70] These situations furnished an easy opportunity for those with money to invest, and in some cases speculation ran to extremes.

In 1815 when a final report was made on land claims Nicholas Jarrot had his title confirmed to twenty-five thousand acres. The only man who owned a greater acreage was John Edgar with forty-nine thousand two hundred.[71] Reynolds declared that Major Jarrot owned the best section of land in the country. At one time the greater part of Wiggins Ferry landing opposite St. Louis was part of his estate.[72]

This Frenchman believed in the concentration of industry. Not content with furnishing the food crop and selling the finished product he wished to manufacture that article. He became very much interested in mills and erected a horse mill in Cahokia, which was profitable to himself and beneficial to others. This mill was in operation during the War of 1812 and provided for the troops.[73] Another venture was a water mill a few miles northeast of Illinoistown, now East St. Louis. A visitor described it thus: "A few miles from Illinois City I found the mill of Jarrot, a Frenchman, which has in its construction

[66] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois, pp.* 176, 177.
[67] Matson, *Pioneers of Illinois,* p. 207.
[68] *History of St. Clair County* (Brink), p. 75.
[69] Ibid., p. 82.
[70] Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* p. 418.
[71] Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical,* pp. 200, 201.
[72] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 177.
[73] Ibid,

the peculiar feature that the water wheels run while lying in the water, and turn the shaft which projects upward from them. It is said that through this discovery the movement of the wheels is not hindered even in the case of from seven to ten feet of backwater."[74] This project was not so successful as the one in Cahokia. Major Jarrot had to contend against the elements of the American Bottom—the sand banks of the creek, the swamps near the mill, and sickness. Not content he continued to fight for his enterprise for ten years. William Robb built a mill above Jarrot's, loaded a boat with flour and passengers and sent it down Cahokia Creek through Jarrot's dam. This was one of the final mishaps but Jarrot persisted with his experiment until his death.[75]

Not all Nicholas Jarrot's time was spent in augmenting his fortune. The problems of territorial government presented themselves and many were the demands upon those able to solve them. To facilitate the machinery of government the county of St. Clair was erected April 27, 1790. The county was divided into three judicial districts—Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Prairie du Rocher.[76] Again in 1795 the county was subdivided into Randolph and St. Clair counties.[77] In a short biography one finds that "Jarrot held the office of Justice of the Peace and Judge of the County Court of St. Clair for many years. His services in the judicial department were always respected by the people—and his decisions on the bench were always prompt and quick."[78]

In July 1796 Nicholas Jarrot was one of the members of the Grand Jury, at which session of court "Denois Valentin of Cahokia was indicted for keeping a billard table for gambling purposes."[79] Among the names prominently associated with the Court of Common Pleas was that of Nicholas Jarrot. When the court met as the court of Quarter Sessions its functions were much the same as those of the Circuit Court of today. Jarrot was sworn in as the judge at the March term of the court in 1801. Jean Francois Perrey succeeded him at the April special term.[80] A contemporary wrote "at times Shadrach Bond, James Lemen, William Whiteside, James Piggot, Jean Francois Perry, Nicholas Jarrot, George Atchison and many other similar good men composed the judges of the court of St. Clair County."[81]

On May 3, 1809 a commission as Justice of the Peace was issued to Jarrot.[82] His name appears as the fourth voter at the election January 1799 for a representative to the General Assembly of the Territory. His vote was cast for Shadrach Bond, Senior.[83]

The services of Nicholas Jarrot were utilized in the military as well as in the judicial department. In the early days of St. Clair County he was made a major in the militia,[84] and was known by that

[74] *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions*, 1903, p. 155.
[75] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 177, 178.
[76] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, p. 165.
[77] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 406.
[78] Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 178.
[79] *History of St. Clair County* (Wilderman), vol. 11, p. 700.
[80] Ibid., p. 701.
[81] Reynolds, *My Own Times*, p. 66.
[82] *Territorial Records of Illinois*, Pub. No. 3, p. 4.
[83] *History of St. Clair County* (Brink), p. 70.
[84] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 175.

title, together with one of colonel. On October 29, 1810 in the territorial records one finds that the governor appointed Nicholas Jarrot and William Rector, Aids de Camp to the Commander-in-Chief.[85] Again in the War of 1812, Governor Ninian Edwards, as Commander-in-Chief, had as his Aids, Nicholas Jarrot, William Rector, William Mears, and Shadrach Bond, Junior.[86]

"July 24, 1811, Captain Samuel Levering was honored with a commission from Governor Edwards to proceed to the tribes on the Illinois River and demand of them the authors of the murders which had been committed and the property which had been stolen by the Indians in the Louisiana and Illinois Territories, during the preceding two summers. Captain Levering departed on that day from Kaskaskia and arrived at Mr. Jarrot's in the village of Cahokia on the next day at eleven o'clock P. M."[87] Probably the officer stopped at Major Jarrot's for advice concerning Indian affairs.

The following letters show to what extent the Cahokian understood the trying times.

"Elvirade, Randolph County,
Illinois Territory, July 7, 1812.

Sir:

* * * * * * * * * * * I have the honor to inclose you a letter from Major Jarrot of Cahokia, to myself. He is one of the most intelligent, wealthy, and respectable French citizens; was at Prairie du Chien when Mr. Dixon left there on his return. The letter to which the enclosed refers I cannot now lay my hands on. It however states that there were collected at Prairie du Chien, of different tribes of Indians three thousand three hundred and seventy-seven, and these I suppose are the Indians he speaks of as being collected on Lake Michigan. * * * * * *

NINIAN EDWARDS.[88]

*To Honorable William Eustis, War Department."*

The enclosed letter follows:—

"Cahokia, June 29, 1812.

GOVERNOR:

Since I had the honor of writing you last, I have seen it stated in the "Argus of Western America" of the tenth inst.; that sometime previous Col. William Russell had received orders to go to the Indiana Territory for the purpose of taking command of the six companies of rangers and regulars of the United States Army. It is also stated that he is requested to correspond with Governor Harrison, etc. on the subject relative to the situation of our affairs with the Indians. As all the information that can be procured on that subject will be desirable, I humbly submit to you my observations—especially as it affects the community at large.

It appears to me that the great and principal object has been overlooked, to which you may probably procure some remedy, I think if all those Indians that I mentioned in my last to you, living about Lake

[85] *Territorial Records of Illinois*, Pub. No. 3, p. 17.
[86] *Illinois State Historical Society, Transactions*, 1904, p. 172.
[87] Edwards, *History of Illinois and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, p. 38.
[88] Edwards, *History of Illinois and the Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, p. 331.

Michigan, cannot be supplied by the British traders according to the President's proclamation, all their traders will therefore retire to their own country, and then all those tribes amounting to some thousands, will consider themselves abandoned and as it were dead, and through despair they will immediately assemble all the nations around them determined to conquer or die, and destroy us, our wives and children, before necessary assistance can be obtained. Thank God I may be mistaken, and if I am, it will be when the United States will send factors or traders among those Indians to supply them with merchandise and powder, etc., to support them and their families, for which they will exchange their peltries—then and not till then will they be peaceful.

But under our present regulation, we have not only taken from them our traders, but in their place we have supplied them with no others.

This far I have ventured to give you my opinion, and remain with due respect.

Your most humble and obedient servant,

JARROT.[89]

Captain Jarrot, as he was known in the War of 1812, organized a company to proceed to Peoria and also fortified a boat for the expedition in 1813.[90] The muster of Captain Jarrot's company has been lost and we do not know the names of the men who served under him.[91]

Living under the shadow of the church—the oldest in Illinois that is still in existence—Major Jarrot's life was as exemplary in church duties and devotion as that of the priest. He and Mme. Jarrot always preceded the family procession in going to and from mass on the Sabbath.[92] There was an incident of early Catholic history in Illinois, which though it only lasted four years and did not create any spiritual fervor among the inhabitants, yet curiously enough made such an impression upon their minds that every historian mentions it.

Father Urbain Guillet, the superior of the Trappist order and Father Joseph, a monk, came to Cahokia in 1808 looking for a site for their mission.[93] They were befriended by Nicholas Jarrot and Governor Ninian Edwards. The former offered them four hundred acres of ground for their monastery. This grant was in the center of the mound region of Illinois and contained the largest one of the group, which has since been known as Monk's Mound. The Trappists lived on this unusual elevation, performing the vows of their order—silence, hard labor and teaching. They were unsuccessful in their missionary efforts and in 1813 returned to Europe.[94]

Although he accumulated a great fortune, generosity and devotion led Major Jarrot to give his wealth freely, when he hoped it would be beneficial. Devotion to the church caused the gentleman to aid the Trappist monks, just as devotion to his children directed him to establish the first school in Cahokia. Samuel D. Davidson, a lawyer from

[89] Edwards, *History of Illinois and the Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, pp. 330-331.
[90] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 177.
[91] *Illinois State Historical Society, Transactions*, 1904, p. 190.
[92] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 179.
[93] Todd, *Short Sketches of Illinois History*, vol. 11, p. 324.
[94] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 457, 458.

Kentucky, settled in Cahokia in 1809. Major Jarrot persuaded him to abandon his practice and become a schoolmaster. The salary of four hundred dollars a year was paid by the Major and the schoolhouse was one of the rooms of his own mansion.[95]

When the Bank of Edwardsville, the second in Illinois Territory, was established, Nicholas Jarrot was commissioned to receive subscriptions in Cahokia for the institution. This is just one of the instances of public trust in the integrity of Jarrot.[96]

A man's intercourse with others, his fortune, his public services, his church, his family—are certainly what should constitute his life cycle.

At last, worn out by his unusual and varied activities, he easily fell a vicitim to undue exposure while at his Illinoistown mill, and on Friday, December 8, 1820,[97] Nicholas Jarrot lay in state in the great hall of his mansion while the ancient church bell tolled his passing to the countryside. He was buried just east of the church in the old burying ground. If you happen to make a pilgrimage to Cahokia, take notice, walk softly, and in obedience to the wording on his stone, "Priez pour le repos de son âme," for there lies a noble man.

Though the creator of the home was gone, the house continued to shelter his family. Built to resist all danger from the elements, this building, only fourteen years old in 1820, had already stood through the earthquakes of 1811, 1812,[98] and 1818.[99] On November 16, 1811, the quake blew down many chimneys, while in Cahokia the church bell[100] sounded and two cracks appeared in the rear wall of the Mansion House.[101] Major Jarrot had a cave dug in the field behind the house where everyone went when the earthquake was first felt. The roll of children and slaves was always called to be sure that none were left exposed to danger.[102]

Cahokia passed through her period of prosperity in the early years of the nineteenth century. By 1818 the population began to decline[103] and in 1838 the business activity had moved to St. Louis and the village was then remarkable only for the venerableness of its age and decay.[104] Just a few years before that date it was teeming with prosperity. There were twenty-four stores, three thousand inhabitants, and the people of St. Louis made it their principal trading place.[105]

Bishop Flaget reported everything in fine order in 1814. The congregation was free from debt, and there was a surplus in the treasury.[106]

Indeed such was the enviable place of Cahokia in general esteem that there is a tradition in the Jarrot family, St. Louis having no place fine enough in which to entertain LaFayette when he visited America in 1825—they journeyed over the Mississippi to the Jarrot mansion

[95] *History of St. Clair County* (Wilderman) vol. 11, p. 784.
[96] *Western Intelligencer,* April 22, 1818, p. 1.
[97] *Illinois Intelligencer,* December 23, 1820, p. 3.
[98] Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* p. 458.
[99] *Western Intelligencer,* April 11, 1818.
[100] Reynolds, *My Own Times,* p. 79.
[101] *History of St. Clair County* (Brink), p. 329.
[102] Sibley Letters.
[103] Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 60.
[104] Flagg, *The Far West,* vol. 11, p. 227.
[105] *History of St. Clair County,* (Brink), p. 329.
[106] Shea, *History of Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. 1808-1843, p. 278.

for a ball. Francois Jarrot had just attained his majority and with his mother received the distinguished visitor.[107]

The house began to be the scene of many romances and marriages as the children grew older. Benedicte Ortance, the oldest child of the second marriage, born in 1799, in 1818 married Robert McCracken,[108] who came to this country with his uncle, John Edgar. McCracken was so grateful for all that his uncle had done for him that he named his first son John Edgar and his first daughter Rachael for his aunt. Love of the "old countrie" was as deeply instilled into the heart of this Irishman as was the love of France within the hearts of her sons. Instead of the conventional engagement ring, Robert presented Ortance with a small jeweled pin in the shape of a harp. Three other children were born of this marriage. Mr. McCracken died in 1826 and his widow remarried in 1828 Dr. James L. Brackett of Maine. At this wedding Ortance wore the cloth of gold gown which had been in the trousseau of her grandmother, Felicite Janis, in 1776. Maria Brackett, one of the six children of Ortance and Dr. Brackett, married Judge Joseph Sibley in 1849,[109] and from their daughter, Julia, I have gained much of my knowledge of the family history.

Melanie Eugenie Jarrot, the second child, born in 1801, married Samuel Christie in 1823. Samuel Christie took part in public affairs and was a member of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the state. There were four children of this marriage.

Francois Jarrot, the first son and third child, born 1803, remained a bachelor and died when only thirty-four.[110]

Vital Jarrot, born 1805, was the son who was destined to carry on the family name. Building upon the foundation that his tutor, Mr. Davidson, had established, Nicholas Jarrot sent his son to Georgetown University in the District of Columbia. In making this journey, Vital rode horseback to Louisville and then went by boat up the Ohio to Pittsburgh.[111] Although admitted to the bar, he took up agriculture and continued at intervals throughout his life to personally superintend his farms. His interests were as varied as were those of his father. The Black Hawk War found him an Adjutant-General on Governor Reynolds' staff.[112] His trading interests took him to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Abraham Lincoln was an associate of his in the Illinois General Assemblies, where Vital served as the St. Clair county representative at the Eleventh, Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second sessions.[113] In 1833 a railroad was constructed by Governor John Reynolds, George Walker, Vital Jarrot, S. B. Chandler and Louis Boismenue, landowners of that section, to run between the Mississippi and the bluffs for the transportation of coal. This company sold out in 1841[114] to the St. Clair Railroad Company. In that same year with Sumrix, Vital Jarrot began the publication of the "American Bottom Gazette", the first newspaper in East St. Louis.[115] He in-

[107] Sibley Letters.
[108] *Western Intelligencer,* April 8, 1818.
[109] Sibley Letters.
[110] Sibley Letters.
[111] *Portrait and Biographical Record of St. Clair County,* p. 209.
[112] Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History,* p. 116.
[113] Cunningham, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois,* vol. 1, p. 303.
[114] Peck, *A Gazeteer of Illinois,* p. 63.
[115] *History of St. Clair County,* (Wilderman), vol. 11, p. 753.

vested in bank stock and like his father, in mills. President Lincoln appointed him Indian Agent to the Sioux in the Black Hills region and he was very successful. Vital was twice married, first to Marguerite Boismenue, who left a daughter, Josephine, and later to Mary Pensoneau.

Julia, the fifth child of Nicholas and Julia Jarrot, was born in 1807. She married three times, first, Thomas Short, then the noted William Morrison, and last a Dr. Price.

The youngest child of the Jarrot family was Felicite, born in 1813. Her husbands were a Mr. Tillman and Charles Waddell.[116]

What a distinguished group of names one notices among these relatives by marriage! The early history of Illinois is full of the deeds of the Boismenues, Pensoneaus, Morrisons and Edgars.

The old house with Mme. Jarrot as its mistress continued to shelter the children and grandchildren until that devastating flood of 1844. There had been many floods before. The record of their height may now be found marked on one of the rear doors of the church. The villages of Cahokia, Prairie du Pont, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia were almost swept away in the flood of 1844.[117] When the Mississippi first began to rise and cover the American Bottom, the inhabitants prepared for it. The Jarrots went out to the cabin after the negroes in skiffs One frolicsome grandchild, Maria Brackett, dumped the cook in the water, much to the latter's terror. The skiff was tied to the railing of the stairway when not in use. Some of the children learned to swim by being tied to those same banisters. The water finally got so high that everyone had to move to their second floors. To avoid the the unhealthy stages of the receding water the Jarrots went to St. Louis where they remained three months. Nothing could be locked so to prevent marauders from stealing the church vestments which were drying in the ballroom, a catafalque with candles was set up to frighten away the superstitious—and nothing was taken.[118]

Mrs. Jarrot went to St. Louis to live and died there in 1875 at the age of ninety-five. Ortance Jarrot continued to live in the family home until her death in 1886, when she was buried by the side of her family in the old churchyard.[119]

The generations have passed but the Mansion House of Cahokia remains and children's voices still echo through the rooms as the sisters of the church now live there and teach the children in the ballroom, just as Samuel Davidson did in 1809.

[116] Sibley Letters.
[117] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 89.
[118] Sibley Letters.
[119] Ibid.

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## HARNESSING THE ILLINOIS WATERWAYS IN PIONEER DAYS.

By Charles B. Johnson, M. D.

"These water courses how they run,
Through woods and meads, in shade and sun,
Sometimes swift and sometimes slow,
Wave succeeding wave, they go;
A various journey to the deep,
Like human life to endless sleep."
(Adapted from John Dyer.)

After gathering his corn, harvesting and with hand flail, laboriously threshing his wheat, the early settler had yet the difficult task of converting these into meal and flour that in due course the wanted supply of bread might find its place on his table.

I made use of the terms "difficult task" advisedly for be it known that to reach a mill where corn and wheat could be ground, the pioneer had to go not infrequently ten, twenty and, indeed, sometimes thirty or forty miles. In some instances he would consume one day in reaching the mill, another in waiting his "turn" and a third in getting back to his cabin. This would necessitate two night's "camping out," but this the pioneer rather enjoyed than otherwise, for at lighting an out-door fire, extempore cooking and making himself comfortable generally, he was a pastmaster.

In the early history of Illinois flour and meal, for the most part, were products of crudely built horse mills. The essential parts of which were a pair of roughly prepared millstones, the upper one of which was made to revolve upon its mate by a horse-power propelled by a pair of horses hitched to a projecting arm of the horse-power and drawing this round and round in a circle. Instead of the power being transmitted to the millstones by the regulations shaft and cogs, in pioneer days, this was done by a strong tightly twisted band made of new bull's hide and hence came the name "band-mill."

Early in the last century, while Illinois was yet a Territory, my ancestors came to this, then new "land of promise," and to secure the indispensable staff-of-life they had necessarily to patronize the horse mills of that era.

While my memory does not reach back to these rudely constructed makeshifts for grinding corn and wheat I have a most vivid recollection of what succeeded them and what was deemed little short of a God-send, namely, the water-mills of the late forties and fifties,—and now to a brief description of these I invite your attention for a very few minutes.

For this description perhaps I cannot do better than to make use of the stream and water-mills of the place of my nativity, namely, Bond County.

Bond County's two principal streams are Big and Little Shoal Creeks both of which enter the county near the center of its northern border and some six miles further south unite and the larger stream, thus formed, flows out of Little Bond near the center of its southern border. Seventy years ago Big Shoal Creek was studded with water-mills, I came near saying, like beads on a string. First came Ripson's mill near the northern limits of the County, next came Brown's mill, then Bilyeu's, then Johnson's and last Miles's mill near the southern border of the County. On Little Shoal Creek, some distance above where it emptied into Big Shoal, was Smith's mill and near Greenville, the County Seat of Bond, another was erected in the thirties and of which I have no personal recollection. As Bond County is only about twenty miles square, with an area of near four hundred square miles and as the mills were on an average four miles apart it will be seen that in mid-nineteenth century days its inhabitants were all conveniently accessible to mill privileges.

The word engineer, in everyone's mouth today, was scarcely ever used in my childhood. In contra-distinction the term "mill-wright" was in everyday use. Two of my uncles were mill-wrights and a third was a mill-owner. The water-mills of my childhood were planned and built by the mill-wright.

In the construction of a water-mill a strong frame of heavy timbers was made to reach to about the middle of the stream. A floor of heavy plank was laid on the bank-level, leaving all below open to permit a free flow in the event of high water. Next all the water was turned to the farther side of the stream in an endeavor to make all within the mill area dry ground. Just within the mill frame and at its up-stream end was built a water-tight enclosure of strong heavy plank about twenty feet square and some ten feet in depth. This reservoir, for such it was, had immediate connection with the mill and was to be kept filled with water for turning the mill-wheels. Near this reservoir was a strong planked-in enclosure about three feet square at the bottom of which was a horizontal water-wheel, at one end of which was a crank attached to a shaft which reached up through the main floor and propelled a strongly built up-and-down saw. I should have said before that all these mills were combined saw and grist mills. The raising of a water-gate on the up-stream side of the smaller enclosure let in a rush of water which set the horizontal wheel in motion and put to work the upright saw on the floor above. Through a series of arms, levers and cranks on this floor that were put in motion by the up-an-down saw, a slow, notch-by-notch, movement was communicated to the log carriage. On this carriage a log was securely attached in such a manner as permitted the saw to slowly cut its way through and eventually work the log up into lumber of varied dimensions. Slow as was this water-propelled up-and-down saw in doing its work yet it proved to be epoch-making in the fact that it enabled the pioneer to abandon his log cabin and occupy a frame house built from lumber evenly squared and properly sawed. If all went well the frame house

was soon followed by a frame barn that in turn displaced the log stable.

Some ten or twelve feet from the enclosure that contained the horizontal water-wheel and contiguous to the reservoir, was another enclosure made equally strong and water-tight, but round in form, at the bottom of which was a sort of turbine wheel attached to the lower end of a long shaft that reached up through the strong floor above and that through proper connection set the upper of two mill stones in rapid motion. This motion was obtained by lifting a small water-gate near the bottom of the round enclosure. From my talks with some of the older pioneers I was made to realize that the mill-stones, frequently called "burs," were much better finished and vastly more efficient than were the corresponding stones in the old-time horse mills. The mill-stones were enclosed in a neatly fitting case of strong wood with a hopper above for the grain. As said before the upper stone revolved upon its lower mate which remained stationary. From time to time the miller with a pulley would hoist the upper stone from its fellow and with a steel pick made for the purpose proceed to put a sort of new cutting edge on the grooves of the lower stone. The revolving of the upper stone upon its lower mate must have set free an appreciable amount of powdered stone which later found its place in the pioneer's bread and finally landed in his stomach. Query. Was it from this source that the hardy pioneer derived the sand with which his "craw" was supposed to be well filled?

Extending from the mill to the farther bank was a dam that served to impound the water into a well-filled mill-pond in readiness to furnish a full supply of power for turning the water-wheels. While these water mills ground wheat into flour as required, relatively, they converted vastly more corn into meal. For this purpose clean, white corn was carefully selected and toilsomely shelled by hand. Thus shelled the corn would be poured in a sack till it was two-thirds full when it would be placed on the back of a horse with the contents so divided that one end of the sack would balance the other. Tradition told of a time when the benighted head of the family instead of dividing the corn in the sack would leave it all in one end and balance this with a proper sized stone in the other end. Query No. 2. Could the man who thus balanced his sack of corn with a rock be rightly referred to as belonging to the "Stone Age"?

As a boy I was never happier than when mounted on the old family horse with a sack of corn in front of me I was headed for the mill on Big Shoal Creek something more than a mile east of Pocahontas. A narrow road lead through the Shoal Creek timber that was little else than the "forest primeval". Arrived at the mill and delivering my sack of corn into the hands of the miller I tied my old horse to a convenient bush and got busy seeing things. "Seeing things"—what was there to see about an old time water mill? ask you. Well to a wide-awake boy of that period with a due amount of appreciation and a fair stock of imagination there was much to see. First of all there was the water rushing over the dam that impressed me only a little less than did the sight of Niagara fifty years later. Then under the roof of the mill was the rumble and rattle of the crude machinery that ground the pioneers' corn and sawed his lumber. Machinery, for

the most part shaped from strong oak and stout hickory by tools in the hands of the skilled mill-wright. Crude, wooden machinery that in motion creaked and set the mill a-tremble in its every woody fiber and that made the small boy fear that the mill frame was in danger of falling apart and precipitating all in the angry flood below the dam and water wheels.

Also to stand near the reservoir of dark, turbid water and wonder what there might be in its mysterious depths. Next from its banks to view the mill pond that to my young eyes seemed as large and deep as have since sundry lakes. Moored at one of the edges of this mill pond was nearly always a canoe made by trimming its ends to a point and hewing out its center till a long trough-like excavation was produced. This canoe was propelled with paddles and seated in it with one or more boy companions we sometimes made our way up stream with all the interest and curiosity of primitive explorers.

Upon occasions when the wait for the "grist" was long I put in the time fishing. An angle worm on a steel hook at the end of a strong line attached to a supple pole of hickory comprised the means with which I sought to lure and catch such fish as inhabited the waters of Shoal Creek.

For the most part these were Channel Cat, Mud Cat, Perch and Pike. Mud Cat, commonly called "Bull Heads," were the most plentiful, Perch next and Pike rarest of all. Mud Cats took the bait ravenously and hence were easily caught. Perch were more wary and Pike hardest of all to catch. In fact Pike were the game fish of my boyhood days. In springtime and early summer the heavily leaved forest all about Shoal Creek was a most joyful change to my prairie-used eyes. Several varieties of oak, three or four kinds of hickory, two of ash, two of maple, elm of two or three kinds, hackberry, sycamore, walnut and an occasional birch comprised the Shoal Creek timber near the middle of the last century.

To walk through this primeval forest on a June day, to stand beneath one of its mighty oaks and watch the sun's play of light and shade, was a most pleasurable experience.

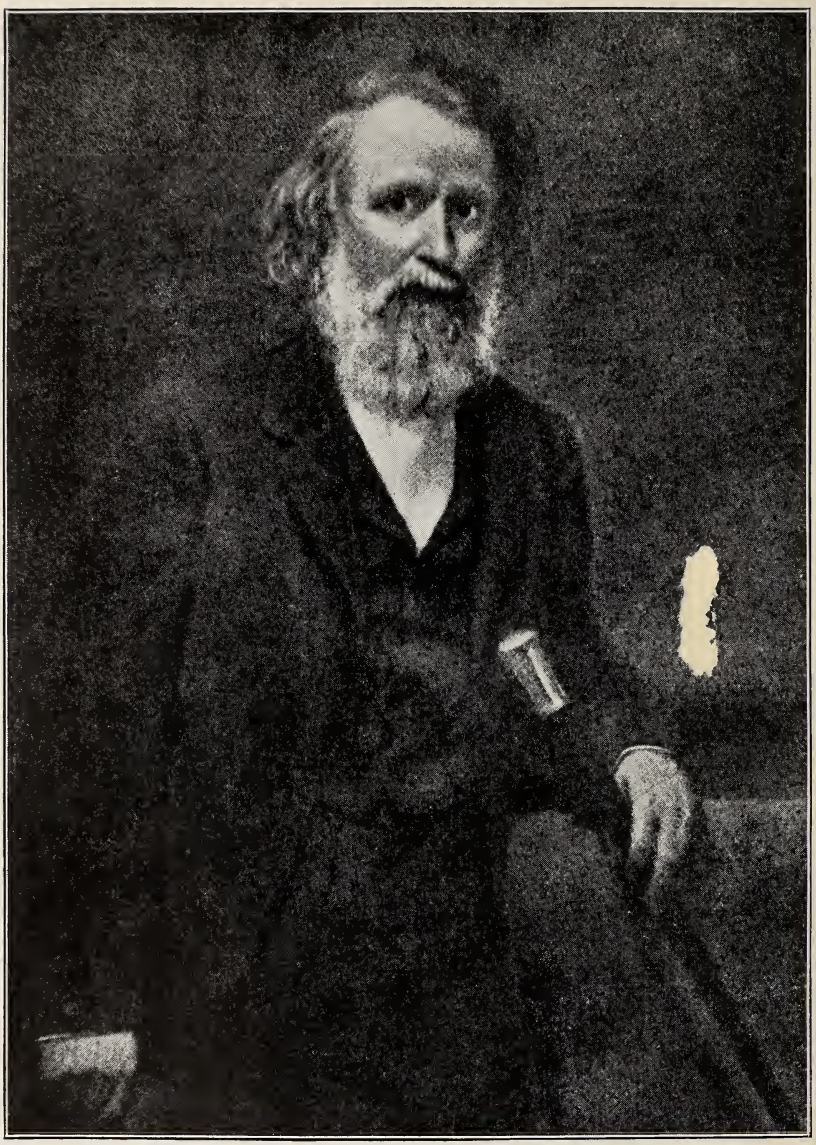
Going to mill in the autumn season afforded opportunity while waiting for my corn to be ground to go among the leafless trees and fill my pockets with fine shellbark hickory nuts, the trees upon which these grew were more frequently found in the creek bottoms and in their tops during the nutting season, a squirrel could not infrequently be seen, now seated on a limb nibbling a nut and next like a skilled acrobat that it was, jumping from one tree top to another.

When I reached the age of fifteen years a copy of the life of Henry Clay fell in my hands which I read with great interest. Henry Clay was the Great Commoner of his era and the idol of the men folk of my family connection. From reading his life I was pleased to learn that in his early days he was poor, was the son of a widowed mother and frequently mounted the family horse and took a sack of corn to the neighborhood water-mill. Indeed, so frequently was he seen on one of these errands that he came to be known as the "mill-boy of the slashes." "Slashes" was a Virginia name for openings in the forest usually made by fire or the woodman's ax.

To me these facts were especially interesting for I too was poor, was the son of a widowed mother, and frequently rode the old family horse to mill, but here coincidences ended and gave place to marked contrasts. The "mill-boy of the slashes" grew and grew till his fame became nation-wide and he found a tender place in the hearts of millions and millions of his countrymen. Meantime, I, who might well have been called the mill-boy of the prairies, have found my place in the midst of the "common herd" and am booked finally to lapse into utter obscurity.

But in some particulars the Great are doomed to share the fate of the humblest among us. For as Shakspeare puts it:

"Great Caesar dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."



John Locke Scripps

## JOHN LOCKE SCRIPPS, LINCOLN'S CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHER.

A Sketch Compiled From His Letters, by His Daughter, Grace Locke Scripps Dyche.

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On October 11, 1903, my cousin, James E. Scripps, of Detroit, Michigan, wrote urging me to prepare a biography of my father for said he, "His was a character such as cannot be too often set before the young men of our country. Then, he lived in a formative period in the history of one of the great cities of the world, and at a period when great political principles were being wrought out and in both he had a large share—such a book would be a valuable history for the political information, religious views, literary associations, Chicago history, development of the Northwest, McKendree College, life in the west in the early times, try to weave it all together into a book—which from its variety would be of fascinating interest."

Suffice it to say—This work was never accomplished and now I am trying to compress it all into a hurriedly prepared thirty minute paper for this society.

It is not given to many young men to encompass within the short space of twenty-five years, a finished and successful career. Through his own individual and intellectual effort, he graduated from the Professor's Chair to that of the Lawyer's bench to the Editor's chair, to that of the authorship of a biography of the greatest man of our nation and then became the head of Chicago's Postal System, and the leading member of a young banking firm, by perseverance and industry, on a capital of less than five hundred dollars. He climbed the stairs of successful finance until he had attained its height, for those days, and was reputed to be one of Chicago's foremost citizens.

I am not placing my father on this pinnacle of eminence simply because he was my father, for it was not my fortune to have known him, except through his letters, and through those of his friends who by word of mouth sang his praises in my eager ears; and in giving to the people of Illinois this somewhat laudatory sketch, I hope I may be pardoned, for he was not alone my father, but a son Illinois may well be proud to claim.

It is not surprising, after the lapse of time, that the name of John Locke Scripps is unfamiliar. To those who knew him, they could never forget him, but today he is known best through his "Life of Lincoln" written and distributed as campaign literature, but which has lived after him.

Let me read you at this point, a portion of a letter from Horace White, late editor of the New York Evening Post, and one of the editors of the Chicago Tribune in 1864. This letter was written to Mr. Charles U. Gordon, late Postmaster of Chicago. Referring to

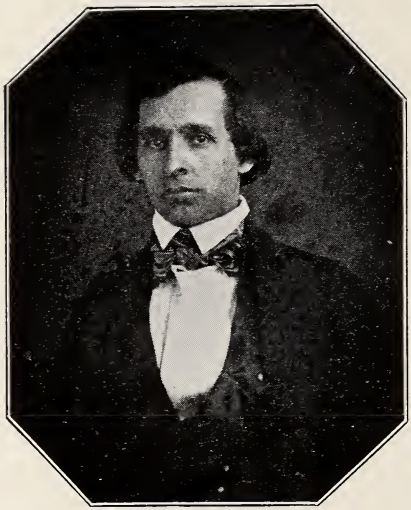
my father, he says: "I bought his interest in the Chicago Tribune in the year 1864. I was well acquainted with Mr. Scripps. He was a man of the most exemplary character and devotion to the public interests, of great courtesy, but inflexible principles, in short a most admirable type of the American gentleman. I served under him before I acquired an interest in the paper, and I learned not only to respect and admire him, but to have a strong affection for him, which subsists to this day."

Not much is known of the ancestors back of my great grandfather, who in order to escape the taxes of England, and with a long cherished hope of becoming a land owner, chartered the brig Minerva, and with his wife and five small children embarked for America. After a month on the "rolling deep," they landed in Baltimore on July 4, 1791. In this short sketch there is no time to give the data of interesting experiences in those pioneer days. Suffice it to say, that fortune finally took them to Cape Girardeau, Missouri.* Mrs. Louis Painter, an old lady living there in 1886, who had known the elder Scripps, repeated a remark he had made to her, which for three-quarters of a century had fastened itself on her memory. It was, "When you learn anything, learn something useful." He instilled this principle in the minds of this three sons, all of whom lived successful lives—William A., as publisher and editor in London; John, as tanner, preacher and editor; George H., tanner, farmer, politician and merchant.

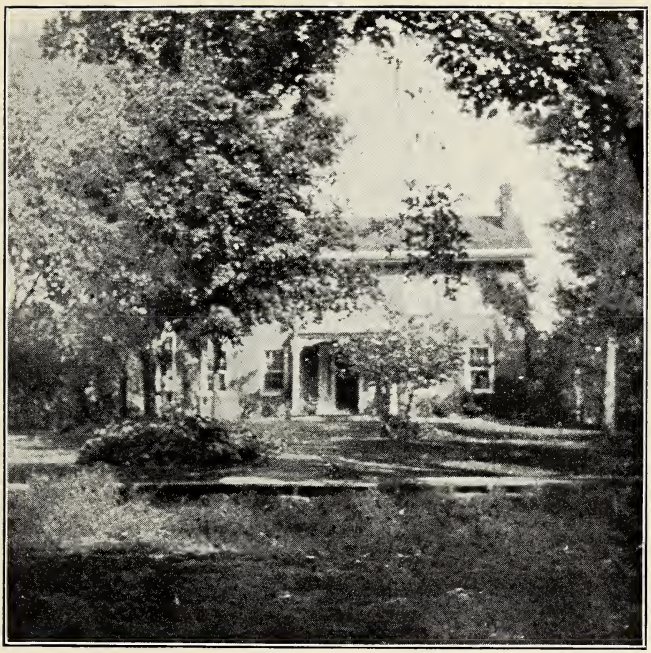
The subject of this sketch was the son of George H. and Mary Hiler Scripps, and was born in Jackson County, near Cape Girardeau, in 1818. He was named John Locke because of the family tradition that his grandmother, Grace Locke, was a cousin of the philosopher of the same name, and whether it was an inherited tendency or simply an inherent desire to live up to his honored name, I know not, but certain it was that he had a philosophical mind, which early developed and which showed itself through all his subsequent life. His early educational advantages were very meager, but I glean through an article "Reminiscences of my Childhood" written by my aunt, Mrs. Mary A. Bagby, of Rushville, the following: "In those days there were pay schools (free schools were never dreamed of), I believe a teacher charged one dollar for three months. Our brothers were great readers and close students. Their highest delight was to improve their minds. Our brothers loved to teach us beautiful poems and songs. They were deeply interested in Carlyle and Goethe. "That my father grew up in a cultured family surrounded by books is evident." An interesting volume that has come down through the years is that known as the "Geneva" Bible, which has been a family heirloom since its publication in 1578, descending from Father to Son. It was the first Bible to divide into verses, and is now in the possession of my nephew, Charles Locke Scripps, a grandson of John Locke Scripps.

In 1831 Rev. John Scripps moved from Cape Girardeau to Rushville, Illinois, which town at that time bade fair to be a prosperous business center. It antedated Chicago, a settlement then looked upon

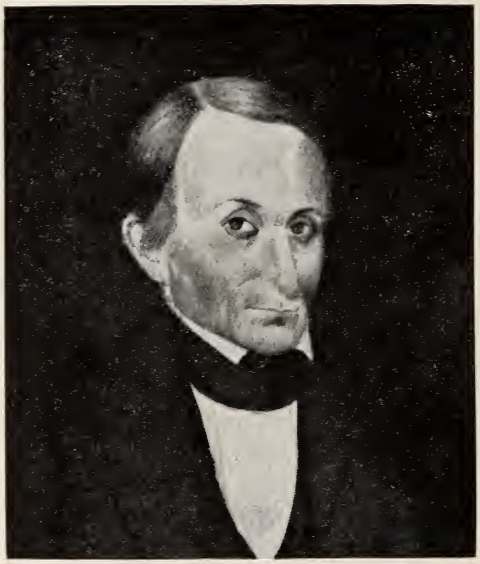
* From Scripps memorial. By James E. Scripps.



John Locke Scripps
About 1842



Scripps, Rev. John
Home in Rushville, Illinois



Geo. H. Scripps
1838

Geo. H. Scripps
Home in Rushville, Illinois

# M'KENDREE COLLEGE.

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STATEMENT

OF THE

COURSE OF STUDY AND INSTRUCTION.

OCTOBER 2D, 1845.

LEBANON, ILLINOIS.

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BELLEVILLE:
Printed by R. K. Fleming, Advocate Office

1845.

M'KENDREE COLLEGE
Title Page of Catalog 1845

as a veritable dismal swamp. About this time my grandfather established a store in Jackson, Missouri, and here my father had his first business experience, but in 1836, the family joined Rev. John Scripps in Rushville, Illinois, where George H. Scripps became a most successful business man. When he died in 1859, the obituary notice said "He was a man of the highest character, superior judgment, energy and respectability, a pre-eminently good, consistent man and a useful citizen." This was the example he set before his sons. It was after moving to Rushville that my father was sent with a stock of goods to open up a store in Mt. Pulaski, Illinois, for his uncle, Mr. Parrott, of Rushville, but this avocation was not to his liking, and my grandfather decided upon a college career, and entered him at McKendree College in Lebanon, Illinois.

I will pass lightly over the letters written during his three years spent at McKendree. Dr. Findley was president. "His tuition and board for one-half a session amounted to $26.00, and his washerwoman's bill for a session $4.00." He made frequent visits to Monticello Seminary, where his sister, Lydia, (afterward Mrs. George Little of Rushville), was in attendance, and in one of his letters he compares the two institutions, "the one a wood-colored, shabby, unornamental and dirty old edifice; the other a glorious pile of splendid architecture, affording within all necessary facilities for convenience and comfort. Its long halls, neat chapel, tasteful parlor, etc. But above all the contrast between the inmates of the two places—the fair, the intelligent and polished young ladies of Monticello Seminary, and the rough, uncouth and ungracious students of McKendree College."

In 1842, a strong temperance movement was started at Lebanon, when some reformed drunkards of Cincinnati took part. Citizens of the town, professors, students of the college, became greatly interested and 156 signed the pledge. A number of students, among whom was my father, volunteered their services as speakers, and numerous meetings were held in the neighboring towns, and this movement became widespread, in which he was vitally interested. In 1844, the Mormon uprising in Nauvoo created a great deal of anxiety in Rushville, and although it lacked but a few months before his graduation, he offered to come home and help remove the family to a place of safety, but this did not have to be done and he remained at McKendree and secured his diploma August 21, 1844. During his college career, he not only kept up his studies, but he also tutored some of the students. He mentioned his three roommates, all of whom amassed wealth and lived to found and help other colleges. My father's sister, Mrs. George Little of Rushville told me that about the time of my father's graduation the Methodists were having some trouble and he was asked to assume the duties of acting President of McKendree. He did not feel that he could assume such a position, but after graduating he was offered a professorship, which he accepted. A copy of a catalogue of this date is in my possession. The are five names on the Faculty, with Dr. Akers as President, my Father as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. It measures 6x4½ inches, and is complete in eight pages.

In November, 1845, McKendree suspended for the winter and my Father opened a private school in Rushville, Illinois, with his sister, Lydia, as his assistant. I wish I might give in full a beautiful letter, from my cousin Miss Ellen Scripps of La Jolla, California, who had been a pupil in my father's school in the old Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Rushville, but space will not permit of all of it. However she gives this picture of him. "He was a sort of composite Jupiter and Apollo, and Shakespeare and John Wesley, and fully comprehend their attributes, power, beauty, wisdom, sweetness and spirituality. Mary Agnes (his sister Mrs. John C. Bagby of Rushville), had filled our ears with her laudation of 'Brother John.' I think he rather took upon himself to give lessons to the younger members of the family in deportment, courtesy language and to reprimand kindly though severely all tendency to slang—which was a very mild type in those days. I don't remember whether I or he left the household first but I do know I felt a personal loss in the separation. His health was never robust and yet despite his affliction he kept right on, determined to win out." He seemed a prolific letter writer. I have in my possession about one hundred letters, and of course only a few of those he wrote ever found their way into my hands.

In an old scrapbook kept by the Rev. John Scripps now in possession of his grandson, G. H. Scripps of Rushville, I found this clipping. "John Locke Scripps graduated with the first honors of the class. After leaving college he commenced the study of law at Rushville, under the instruction of Judge Mitchell and at once entered upon its practice in that place. He continued at his profession until 1847, when he removed to Chicago." One can readily imagine the bustle of preparation, the sadness of farewell, the buoyancy of heart, with which this young man licensed to practice law, bought his team of horses, filled his wagon with straw, packed in his trunk and box of books and started off across the prairie to fight the battle of life alone. A letter to his sister, Mary, gives an account of travel in those early days. "I had a lonely trip to Chicago, indeed. It led through a less populous country than I had traveled before, and in consequence of the mud, there were but few travelers to be met with. I traveled one whole day without passing more than a single house. When I stopped away out on the wide prairie to feed my horses, and crawled back into the wagon to partake of the cold dinner, which I brought from home, you cannot conceive the sense of entire loneliness I experienced, and the little food it took to satisfy my need. I had traveled the road before, and thought I knew it, but at night, I did very well for about three miles, when the road forked. I hitched my horses, coiled up as snugly as I could, but lay there and shivered all night in the woods. I stayed nearly three days at a farm house forty-five mile from here. The roads became so bad my horses could go no farther. The people with whom I stayed were aristocratic Yankees. Col. Ingham's bill for keeping me three days and the team one week and delivering it in Chicago, was five dollars—stage fare $2.25. Mr. Poole bartered me yesterday to trade him the team, for a lot off his acre lot. If I had the means of paying my way without relying upon the team, I presume it

## FACULTY.

Rev. PETER AKERS, D. D.,
President.

Rev. G. L. ROBERTS, A. M.,
Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

HENRY H. HORNER, A. M.,
Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature.

JOHN L. SCRIPPS, A. B.,
Professor of Mathematics & Natural Philosophy

Hon. WM. BROWN, A. M.,
Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional Law.

F. H. HEREFORD,
GEO. H. HOLLIDAY, } Librarians.

M'KENDREE COLLEGE
FACULTY OF 1845

would be profitable in the end to take him up at his offer. Poole purchased in the spring at $500.00 per acre. Lots are now selling at $1,000.00 per acre."

My father arrived in Chicago at perhaps the most interesting period of its history. Its population numbered about 16,000 souls. He lived to see the construction of the canal, the connecting up of Milwaukee and eastern cities by telegraph. He was to be one of that committee of men who canvassed the state in the interest of the Chicago & Galena Railroad, Chicago's first railroad, and they were even considering a railroad that would round Lake Michigan. His letters at this time are full of the great enterprises and his faith and assurances that this would be the great city of the middle west.

His original aim was to enter upon the practice of law, but finding eighty other young lawyers already here, he writes "I will have to content myself with crumbs, and obscurity. With my small means my only alternative was to form a partnership with some other poor young lawyer; this I have done with Paul Cornell. Prospectively, he goes to half the expense and is to furnish the same amount in books and will come into the office in the spring, after which the receipts, if any, are to be equally divided. I have fitted up a bed in our office, which I will occupy henceforth. This week my board and lodging cost me $3.50 hereafter I am to pay $2.00. I have an excellent boarding place —American Temperance House, No. 40, and my office is No. 90 on the same street." A month later, January, 1848, he writes of a terrible fire, in which his office is threatened—15 or 20 buildings, including two hotels, all in the business section. The loss is estimated at $30,000.00. He tells of the indescribable muddy streets and the prevalence of cholera, just now attacking the better class of citizens—very sudden deaths are constantly occurring.

Having decided in his own mind that his tastes were more literary than forensic, on August 26, 1848, he decided to drop the law and enter a more congenial field of work, and under this date, we find in an old copy of "The Gem of the Prairie" the following.: "We have the satisfaction to announce that Mr. John L. Scripps, a gentleman favorably known to our citizens, has been associated with us in the editorial and business management of the Tribune and Gem establishment. We congratulate ourselves and our readers in having secured the assistance of one who is able so materially, to aid us in our arduous and increasing duties, and whose abilities and varied attainments will give an increased value to the papers under our charge. With this reinforcement of industry and talent, it shall be our steady aim to make the Tribune and Gem more worthy than ever of the favorable regard of the public throughout the northwest." He thus became a one-third owner in the Tribune and Gem, John E. Wheeler and Thomas A. Stewart being the other two partners.

Success being now assured, John Locke Scripps made a trip to Southern Illinois ostensibly to write a series of articles, and brought back his bride, Mary Elizabeth Blanchard, daughter of Seth Blanchard, who was a classmate of his sister's at Monticello.

"The very day on which I completed my connection with the Tribune establishment, Mr. Collins, a respectable and able lawyer of established reputation offered me a partnership. I do not regret that the offer came too late. My present position suits me infinitely better." In a letter to his brother-in-law (the late Judge J. C. Bagby of Rushville, Illinois,) he said, "Chicago is sometimes called the Garden City. I suppose they fixed upon that name in the summer months. If I were called upon for a distinctive cognomen for it, I would unhesitatingly call it "The City of Mud" for surely it can grow more of the aforesaid article than any other place out of the Dismal Swamp. It is no uncommon occurrence to see a loaded wagon stuck in our streets, and occasionally here and there a post is stuck up, or rather down, by some benevolent hand, giving warning to passers-by to sheer around if they want to find bottom." Although my father lead a very busy, active life, he had time to send a series of letters to "The Prairie Telegraph", a paper first edited by his brother, Benjamin Scripps, and later by the Rev. John Scripps and his son, J. C. Scripps, which paper is still in existence under the new name of "The Rushville Times," and now edited by Howard F. Dyson, of that city.

From correspondence in my possession that passed between my father and grandfather, he clearly reveals that his mind was entirely made up about slavery. Slaves should be freed, and at that time he decidedly arrayed himself upon the side of abolition of slavery—probably expressing an opinion somewhat more in advance than was shared in by many people of the north at that time.

In 1850 my grandfather offered him a lucrative position in his Tan Yard at Rushville, to which he replied, "My heart is set upon the enterprise in which I am embarked, and if I can for the present support my family, my mind is made up to sink or swim with the Tribune. I am sanguine that if I can retain my present position for a few years, I shall be able to make myself independent as regards pecuniary affairs. I am confident that Chicago is to become one of the first commercial cities of the West; that within ten years time its population will far exceed 50,000. In the next place, whatever paper succeeds in becoming the commercial paper of such a city must necessarily be an independent fortune to its owners. That the Tribune will be this paper, I have the vanity to feel fully confident. The only drawback to all this, is the fact that we are poor, and cannot find the means to advance the character of our paper as fast as the business of the city requires. That we can build up the Tribune not to be worth (as is the St. Louis Republican) $20,000 a year, but to afford its owners a handsome competence."

On May 3, 1851, he writes: "With an amount of labor that I scarcely could believe myself capable of enduring, I still find it difficult to support my family in anything like a comfortable and respectable style, for a city. I have not cultivated social habits very greatly, and would much rather depend upon my own thoughts or upon books for enjoyment of a leisure hour than upon the company of others."

In a letter written May 23, 1851, he mentions their loss by fire. "Our office, with its contents, was entirely consumed by fire night before last. The fire was no doubt put there by an incendiary. We will

John Locke Scripps
In 1847

resume the issue of the Daily Tribune tomorrow, the weekly the day after, and the Gem next week. It has been a severe blow to us, but if the insurance is good, shall recover from it in a little while." On October 4, 1851, he writes: "Since Mr. Wheeler left us the whole editorial burden rests upon my shoulders. I am compelled to average sixteen hours labor out of the twenty-four, which leaves but little time for correspondence, sociability or even for attention to and society of my own family. But what matters it, the battle of life is a glorious battle after all, and there are compensations, both here, and hereafter, for those who like myself struggle hand to hand with grim necessity and the demon want."

In another letter he says: "Issuing two editions of the paper per day keeps me constantly on the gallop, with my pen and scissors, and I have no time to elaborate or revise an article. I have to be content with first impressions and the language which I may command at the moment. I do not, therefore, do myself justice, nor shall I be able to do so, until we grow rich enough to have an editor for each department of the paper."

The Tribune was at this time a Free Soil Paper and labored for the election of Martin Van Buren. Mr. Scripps says at this time, "My motto at present is Free Land, Free Trade, Free Labor and Free Speech." In an extract from the Tribune written at the time of his death, it said Mr. Scripps was its principal writer and editorial manager. The Press of Chicago was then in its infancy, and an infancy by no means respectable. He at once by his dignified labor gave tone and character to it. He commenced writing up the financial and commercial interests of the northwest. He originated the first distinctive statistical review of the markets of Chicago, inspiring confidence in the reports, by their accuracy and fidelity, as well as respect and admiration for the editor.

In the winter of 1851-2 the Whigs having a controlling interest in the Tribune, and Mr. Scripps being then a Free Soiler with Democratic proclivities, sold out his interest in the Tribune, and with William Bross (afterward Lieutenant Governor of Illinois) started "The Democratic Press." It advocated the claims of Douglas, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the paper then left Douglas and hoisted the Republican flag in June, 1856. In 1854 he writes to his father; "Douglas' course on the Missouri Compromise, I regard as unfortunate. I have taken the course on the subject which both reason and conscience dictated. It will doubtless cost me something and may greatly retard me in my undertakings, but as I cannot help it, I do not suffer it to afflict me. William (his brother) writes me that I have ruined myself. If I am to be ruined at all, let it be from meeting the responsibilites of my position with a conscience void of offense toward God and man, I am content." In the meantime the Press achieved a wide commercial reputation, and labored earnestly to develop the resources of the Northwest. Having his attention called to the Northwest by a visit to the Lake Superior region, it was not surprising that he was invited to lecture on the subject before Bells Commercial College in February, 1856. This lecture met with

such general approval that my father was urged to put it in print and under the name "The Undeveloped Northern Portion of the American Continent," it was printed in pamphlet form of twenty pages. I have never seen but one copy of it which is in my possession. Again quoting from the Tribune: "In 1858, The Press and Tribune consolidated (Chicago then being too small to support two Republican newspapers), Mr. Scripps remaining all the time, the managing and controlling editor. During the Lincoln Campaign the strong stand for the Republican party taken by the Tribune largely brought about the nomination of Mr. Lincoln." As a warm personal friendship existed between my father and Mr. Lincoln, and being also the editor of The Tribune, he was asked to prepare for general distribution "A Campaign Life of the Nominee, according to a letter from Mr. James E. Scripps. My father, after his several interviews with Lincoln, went on to New York where he prepared the most of his manuscript which was afterwards issued simultaneously by the New York and Chicago Tribune.

It was in 1894 that I first heard of my father's Life of Lincoln, through a letter from Joseph P. Smith, then Librarian of the Ohio State Library. The only copy I could find in Rushville was a mutilated copy owned by my aunt, Mrs. John C. Bagby, and I immediately set to work, by correspondence, to see if I could find a perfect copy. I met with but little success. Despairing of finally locating a perfect copy, Mr. John G. Nicolay, former secretary to Mr. Lincoln, offered to furnish me the missing parts of my copy, which he did, by having his amanuensis copy off in his home in long-hand, under his direct supervision, all of the necessary missing pages of my copy. In the meantime Mr. James E. Scripps located his copy and the work of re-printing the campaign life in memory of my father was started by The Cranbrook Press of Detroit. Finally, on July 23, 1900, I had the satisfactory news by letter that the book had come off the press. My cousin, Mr. James E. Scripps, advised the name, "First Published Life of Abraham Lincoln." This name has since been questioned, and in selecting a topic for my address today, I have chosen "The Campaign Life," as this is the way my father designated it in his correspondence with Mr. Herndon.

Through the kindness of Mr. Jesse W. Weik of Greencastle, Indiana, I came into possession of three letters—two original and one a copy, written by my father to Mr. Herndon; and as they have some bearing on the pamphlet, I will give them in full.

"May 9, 1865.

My Dear Herndon:

I am glad you design giving us something about Lincoln. Your long acquaintance and close association with him must have given you a clearer insight into his character than other men obtained. I appreciate your compliment to the poor effort I made in 1860. I do not think it a great stretch of modesty to say that if it were to be done over, I could improve upon it. It is gratifying to me, however, to see that the same qualities in Lincoln, to which I then gave greatest prominence, are those on which his fame ever chiefly rests. Is it not true, that this is the leading lesson of Lincoln's life—that true and enduring greatness, the greatness that will survive the corrosion and abrasion

of time, change and progress, must rest upon character? In certain showy, and what is understood to be most desirable endowments, how many Americans have surpassed him, yet how he looms above them now! Not eloquence, nor logic, nor grasp of thought, nor statesmanship nor power of command, nor courage—not any or all of these have made him what he is, but these in the degree in which he possessed them, conjoined to those certain qualities composed in the term character, have given him his fame—have made him for all time to come the great American man, the grand central figure in American, perhaps the World's history. Send me whatever you may publish on the subject. The plates on which the campaign life was printed were not preserved, and I have not been able to get a copy of it for you.

Very truly yours,

J. L. SCRIPPS.

Mr. Herndon has used this same phraseology in the text of his Life of Lincoln.

On February 13, 1895, I had the following letter from Mr. Joseph Medill: "I remember the pamphlet very well, as I both furnished considerable of the materials worked into it, by your father, and circulated it throughout the United States. I have not seen a copy of it since the great fire in 1871 in Chicago—all the copies we had in the Tribune were consumed in the fire of '71. Your father was never satisfied with the pamphlet because Lincoln insisted on pruning out of it, many of the most readable and interesting passages in regard to Lincoln's early life and other matters.

The second letter written by my father to Mr. Herndon I want to give, following that of Mr. Medill's.

"June 20, 1865.

MY DEAR HERNDON:

The campaign life to which you refer in your note of the 17th was written by me with the exception of a small portion of the chapter devoted to the campaign between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858. The statements therein contained as respects the facts and incidents of the early life of Lincoln are substantially as communicated by him to me—some of them in written memoranda, others orally, in answer to my queries. You can place the fullest reliance in the accuracy of the narrative.

Very truly yours,

J. L. SCRIPPS.

This, then, is sufficient proof that my father was the author of the entire book with the exception of a small part of the chapter devoted to the campaign, as stated in the above letter.

On July 4th, 1860, The Press & Tribune made the following editorial announcement: "We have issued a campaign Biography of the Republican standard bearer, in style so compact, and cheap, that with suitable effort on the part of clubs, canvassers, and local committees, it may reach every voter in the Northwest before the campaign is on. It is a pamphlet of 32 pages of class type, double columns and in the style and shape of the campaign life of Colonel Fremont issued in 1856. It has been prepared with great care, and may be considered a

reliable and authentic narrative of the life of Abraham Lincoln, embracing also the substance of his debates with Mr. Douglas in 1858, and a complete history of that remarkable campaign. It has been the purpose of the writer to make it *the document of the times.* A copy should be placed in the hands of every man in the Northwest who can read the English Language."

Mr. James E. Scripps says of the campaign life in his biographical sketch of the reprint, "The pamphlet admirably illustrates the author's literary style. It is simple and direct, scrupulously fair and truthful, of elegant diction and in every way a model of descriptive writing." Mr. Edwin L. Shuman who reviewed it for the Tribune February 12, 1900, said, "One does not have to read far in this original Life of Abraham Lincoln to discover that it deserves Mr. Nicolay's comment, of "Remarkably well written." Its style is chaste, its English faultless."

Wishing to obtain all possible facts regarding my father's life, I wrote in 1909 to Mr. Jesse Weik of Greencastle, asking for a copy of a third letter which he had in his possession, written by my father to Mr. Herndon, to which he replied on February 12, 1909:

My dear Mrs. Dyche:

"I have but one letter of your father's left. The others I sent to you several years ago. As you request, however, I enclose herewith a typewritten copy of the one, which I still retain, and trust it will answer your purpose." Mr. Weik came into possession of these letters after Mr. Herndon's death. The following is an extract from the above referred to letter,"

"Chicago, June 24, 1865.

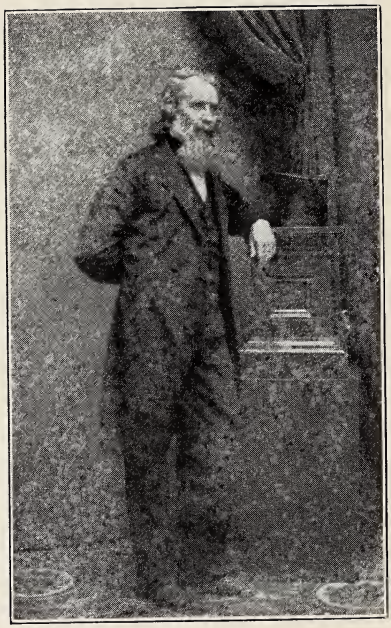
My dear Herndon:

Yours of yesterday is at hand and its tenor induces me to reply more specifically to your previous note of inquiry respecting my little campaign Life of Lincoln. I believe I try to satisfy my conscience in whatever I do; and I assure you, I never performed a work more conscientiously in my life than the production of that biographical sketch. I am also very sure that Mr. Lincoln was equally sincere and conscientious in furnishing me with the facts, connected with his own and his family's history. The chief difficulty was to induce him to communicate the homely facts and incidents of his early life. He seemed to be painfully impressed with the extreme poverty of his early surroundings; the utter absence of all romantic and heroic elements, and I know he thought poorly of the idea of attempting a biographical sketch for campaign purposes. "Why, Scripps" said he, one one occasion, "it is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of my early life. It can all be condensed into a single sentence and that sentence you will find in Grey's Elegy—

The short and simple annals of the Poor.

That's my life, and that's all you or anyone else can make out of it.

To show you how careful I was in the matter, let me relate an incident. When the pamphlet was printed, I sent a few copies to Mr. Lincoln, and in an accompanying note, I said to him, I was in doubt only as to one statement. I had trusted somewhat to my memory on the subject of his early reading and while I, as I had grown up in



John Locke Scripps
When Postmaster

about such a settlement of people as he had in Indiana, and as I had read Plutarch in my boyhood, I presumed he had had access to it also. If I was mistaken in this supposition, I said to him, it was my wish that he should at once get a copy and read it, that I might be able to testify as to the perfect accuracy of the entire sketch. Mr. Lincoln did not reply to my note, but I heard of his frequent humorous allusions to it. It was widely circulated and became the basis of all the subsequent lives.

According to *John E. Burton, my father's appeared June 8, Howard's June 25, and Howell's a few days later. Several other campaign lives were issued the same year, but according to William H. Lambert in an address on Lincoln Literature, this life by Mr. Scripps was "the best of the time." The wigwam edition which preceded it was known to be inaccurate, while the Scripp's Life was authorized accurate and complete up to the time of his nomination. As it was issued in a cheap printed pamphlet form, it was read, cast aside and forgotten, until after the campaign when its value was finally realized. Early biographers began to quote largely from it. When the great Emancipator's life had passed out, this little unpretentious life began to have a commercial value. Its very rarity gave it a place beside the sumptuous volumns of Lincolniana, according to John S. Little of Rushville, Illinois, a collector of Lincolniana. This campaign life by my father was the only authorized biography of that date, and was personally revised by Lincoln before publication." Mr. Daniel Fish, compiler of "The Lincoln Bibliography" wrote me April 17, 1907, "Your father's book is far in the lead both in historic value and literary excellence."

Unfortunately the many fires and removals, riots and changes that occurred in New York and Chicago offices destroyed every trace of memoranda or letters bearing on this early contribution, and we have absolutely nothing left to enlarge upon the work of my father's personal interviews. We have in the family two Lincoln letters, but they are of minor import and have no connection with this publication nor do they throw any new light upon the life of Lincoln.

After the election of Mr. Lincoln the Chicago Post Office was offered to the Chicago Tribune and because of my father's work for the Lincoln campaign, the honor of becoming Chicago's Eleventh Post Master was bestowed upon him.

In 1899, the late Judge Rush R. Sloan of Sandusky, Ohio, wrote the Postmaster of Chicago, as follows.

"From 1861-1867, my official headquarters as general agent of the Post Office Department of the U. S., was in the office adjoining Postmaster John L. Scripps. My relations with him were of the most intimate and friendly character. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, and possessed of a sweetness of character and disposition as lovely as a charming woman. Being closely allied officially and with inclinations not dissimilar, we soon became very intimate, and our

* As to all the dates referred to in your letter regarding the issuing of the Lincoln biographies by Scripps, Howard, Howell, the same were all given me by Mr. Howard in Washington, who was then employed in the Library of Congress. I assumed that he knew. Your facts seem authentic too and I cannot reconcile the difference.
May 24, 1924.

John E. Burton.

relations so continued until his death. I was a frequent guest at his elegant home; his wife a most charming woman. No man in Chicago possessed the confidence of Pres. Lincoln, as did Mr. Scripps, and no life of Lincoln so pleased him as did the one written by Mr. Scripps. I am knowing to the fact that when Mrs. Lincoln selected her wardrobe to take with her to Washington, she invited Mrs. Scripps to shop with her, all bought in Chicago."

The fact that my father always attended the legislature, a friendship sprang up between my father and Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, and they were frequent visitors at our home, which fact accounted for the shopping expedition reported by Judge Sloan.

The first idea of making the distribution of the mails upon the cars and in offices built for this purpose according to Judge Sloane, was suggested and initiated at the Chicago Post Office, and was the joint idea and result of frequent and protracted discussions between Mr. Scripps, Mr. George B. Armstrong, and Rush R. Sloan. In 1890 in a letter written to me by H. J. Gleason, he says: "During the War of the Rebellion when Lincoln called for 300,000 more defenders of the Union in 1862, your father proposed to three of his trusted Post Office Clerks that they raise a company of soldiers, William James, Jr., Glen C. Ledyard, Clifford Stickney, were the officers, Capt., 1st and 2nd Lieut., in the order named. As the company was organized, and was known in Military records as Co. C, 72nd Ill. Volunteers, but to the members of the company we only recognized one name—"Scripps Guard." They gave the Scripps Guards a grand banquet at their home before we started for the front. It was on that occasion I first met your mother, a most graceful, benevolent, Christian lady. Your father paid $24.00 the first two years of our service. Your sainted mother hunted out every destitute family in the city, whose head was a member of the Scripps Guard, and she supplied the necessities of all such families in a most substantial and liberal manner. They all called her blessed, and today the few left of the old Guard have no more sacred memory than that of your benevolent father, and charitable mother." Capt. Gleason sent me this letter written by my father to him.

"Dec. 11, 1863.

Dear Gleason:

You are authorized in my name to pledge two dollars per month extra pay for one year from the date of mustering in to actual service to each man, you may recruit for that company. If you will fill the company to the maximum this will make my individual subscription to the Scripps Guard fund for the current year something over $1,500.00. I would also like very much if the boys who may enlist in Co. C can all be here together, to give them an entertainment at my house." The Chicago Post under date of August 22, 1863, gave a full description of this "Fete Militaire" at my father's home, and upon their return from war in 1865, 33 men, all that returned of that gallant company, were again entertained at this same home before they finally scattered forever.

The stress of those terrible war times, the great demands upon my father's time and strength continued to undermine his health, and

Mrs. John L. Scripps

when my mother, who was dispensing hospitality on New Years Day, 1866, was suddenly taken from his side, "the light of his life went out." and six months later he, too, laid down to his well earned rest. Life had been to him a glorious fight—all the while combating the disease that early in life laid hold of him, meeting every obstacle with a brave, courageous heart, and with a staunch faith in his every venture. Upright and honest in all of his undertakings, his benefactions, modestly bestowed upon the sick and suffering and with an intellect of high order, he upheld all worthy political issues. A man of the purest morals and highest conceptions of honor, tender and conscientious in his relations with men, and yet unflinching in defense of principle.

Realizing that his end was approaching, he set his house in order, and awaiting the end with a Christian's faith, this young man—prematurely old—went to his grave at forty-five years of age, having successfully accomplished in the eighteen years he lived in Chicago what many men might have taken many more years to accomplish, and I think I could hear the good Father say, as he crossed the bar, "Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

## AN EPISODE OF THE CIVIL WAR, A ROMANCE OF COINCIDENCE.

JOSEPHINE CRAVEN CHANDLER.

NOTE.—The data for this story, as hereinafter told, though checked by the Adjutant General's Report and supplemented by Historical reference and by interviews with relatives, yet living, of the principals, has been drawn chiefly from a manuscript covering that period of Col. Robert's internment in southern prison camps and prepared by him a quarter of a century later.

Although our vivid and intense consciousness of the World War has somewhat obscured for us the dramatic significance of the Rebellion and the long and sad recessional of its veterans must soon expunge it from all personal memory there still are to be found, in public and private archives, records of high service, of valorous deeds and splendid achievement, as yet unstaled by repetition; preserved, perhaps, against a day when growing indifference and a dulling patriotism shall obscure the magnificence of that great sacrifice.

Of some such service then, and of present interest, I believe, may prove the story of these two men of Springfield, Illinois, whose history during the four years struggle, though inconspicous in the larger aspects of the war, is full of significance to the nearer view and touched with romance through the element of coincidence which marked the long unbroken period of their enlistment; that high requisite in art by which fact is subjected to design having, for once, its counterpart in life itself—a fantastic emphasis as on a pattern shaped by destiny.

The military history of these men begins with Illinois' entrance into the Civil War when, after the disastrous and humiliating event at Fort Sumpter, in response to a dispatch from the Secretary of War, Governor Yates issued a call for "six regiments of militia, for immediate service." In answer to this call, says the Adjutant General's Report, "a prompt response was received from almost every part of the state. In ten days over ten thousand men had tendered their services * * * * * * * * and more than our full quota was in camp at Springfield." The call was issued on the 15th day of May, 1861 and on the 16th of that month we find the names of Edward R. Roberts and Edward P. Strickland, later to bear, respectively, the titles of Colonel and Captain, enrolled for the Three Months Service.

Although the regiment in which Col. Roberts and Captain Strickland enlisted was the first to be enrolled in Illinois yet in order to make courteous acknowledgement of the six regiments which had been sent to the Mexican War the numbering for the regiments which took part in the war for the Union began at seven. The Seventh Infantry was commanded by Col. John Cook. It was mustered into service at Camp Yates, April 25, 1861 and forwarded to Alton, St. Louis, Cairo and Mound City where it remained during the three months service. At the close of that time Col. Roberts promptly re-enlisted for the three years term. During those three years he was to see much bloody fighting on

Col. Edward Roberts

the fields of Shiloh, Ft. Donelson, Corinth, Pittsburg Landing and many other points. At the end of that term the Seventh Infantry re-enlisted as Veterans, for the duration of the war.

Captain Strickland, at the end of the three months service, did not, for some reason, re-enlist with the Seventh but, we learn from the Adjutant General's Report, joined the 114th Infantry, Company B as First Lieutenant, the muster date being September 18, 1862. His regiment was sent south in November of that year engaging in the Tallahatchie Campaign, in the battles of Vicksburg, and of Jackson, Miss. It did considerable skirmishing with guerrillas while on picket duty at Oak Ridge, Miss., and on June 1st, 1864, engaged in the battle of Guntown during which engagement his regiment lost more than half its number and Captain Strickland was, himself, severely wounded.

It was following the third enlistment with the Seventh at Pulaski, Tenn., that Col. Roberts, fresh from his month's furlough granted the veterans at Springfield, fell upon the stirring events that make up this narrative. His regiment was mounted on its return to Pulaski, and was then sent south to Florence, Alabama, to patrol the Tennessee River for a distance of twenty-five miles and watch the movements of General Roddy who commanded the southern bank of that stream. The regiment was divided into three detachments—four companies at Florence, two at Sweetwater and four at Center Star. The company under Col. Roberts, was stationed at Sweetwater which commanded Bainbridge ferry.

The attack which General Roddy's brigade, crossing the Tennessee on the morning of the 7th day of May, made on the companies at Florence and Sweetwater—where they fought for six hours with one-tenth their number—though repaid with usury on the return compliment of the 13th of the month, was disastrous to the fortunes of Col. Roberts and his company. He has described the encounter as follows:

> "The morning of May 7, 1864, dawned clear, warm and beautiful; the air was filled with the odor of violets, columbines, and milk-white plum tree blooms; the birds sang sweetly from the branches of the freshly budded trees in that sunny, southern land, all nature seemed to smile and it was hard to realize that this peaceful scene was soon to be disturbed by the mad sounds of war.
>
> "I had gone up to my breakfast, with some other officers, at a house near by and we had just seated ourselves at a table which had on it hot biscuit, coffee, ham and eggs and fresh, sweet milk. I remember these things because in the weary months of imprisonment that followed that delicious breakfast that was never tasted used to haunt my dreams and my waking hours and I resolved that, if I ever did get free again, the first thing I would do would be to go down into Alabama and finish it.
>
> "Suddenly my sergeant dashed up to the house on his mule leading my horse (the officers all rode horses) already saddled and hurriedly reported that our picket at the ferry had been captured save one man who had ridden in and given the alarm. Leaving my breakfast untasted to wait till we had punished the presumptious guerrillas (as we supposed them to be) I leaped into the saddle and followed by the sergeant quickly gained the camp

when I found the men in line ready to mount. Receiving my orders from the major in command I mounted the men and dashed off towards the ferry.

"I had with me about thirty men. The second lieutenant was out with perhaps half that number patrolling the river. * * When about half a mile from the landing we came across a bunch of a half-dozen "confeds" and a few shots sent them galloping away, but in the edge of the woods beyond we came upon a long skirmish line which, dismounting, we attacked without hesitation and had driven to some distance when suddenly a battery of artillery opened and stampeded our mules, sending them galloping to the rear. Just then a long line of cavalry was seen advancing through the trees.

"Realizing that this was no place for thirty men I gave the command, "Fire in Retreat" and we started after our mules. But before we had retreated fifty yards the *cul de sac* into which we had been drawn closed and we found ourselves hemmed in on every side. Those supposed guerrillas had proved to be the entire brigade of General Roddy including a battery of artillery, in hiding to capture our entire regiment.

"Throwing my empty revolver into some weeds by the side of a fence I stood waiting their approach. A squad rode up to me and with their carbines presented demanded my surrender. 'Of course,' said I, 'What would you have me do?'

" 'Where's that revolver?' said another, seeing the empty holster.

"Looking down I seemed surprised that it was not there and said, 'Hello, its gone. I must have lost it in the skirmish.'

"With murder in his eye he pulled his carbine and looking at me through its sight, said, 'Yank, if you don't get that revolver I'll put a hole through you.'

"It is astonishing how a fellow's memory is quickened under such circumstances. I distinctly remembered where I had lost it and picking it out of the weeds, said, 'Here it is, and a good one it is and good work it has done and here is a fine pair of spurs I would like to make you a present of.'

"Oh, I was generous that day."

The encounter there at Sweetwater cost the two companies three officers and thirty-two men, wounded and captured. Col. Roberts, with the other unfortunates, was taken across the river, searched and relieved of fire-arms and valuables and then, on foot, breakfastless—and by this time, dinnerless—with cavalry guards started on the long march through the south. In a week they reached Tupello, Miss., were shipped by rail to Mobile, Ala., detained there several days and then put aboard an Alabama river steamer for Cahaba. On shipboard the officers were given the liberty of the boat and it was on this occasion that Col. Roberts encountered Captain Todd, the brother of Mrs. Lincoln, who made inquiries for his northern relatives, treated the Springfield officer with marked courtesy but who, none the less assured him at parting: "I hope you will get exchanged and we will meet on the battlefield. I'll do my best to put a bullet through you."

At Cahaba the prisoners were detained for about a week and then sent by train to Columbus, Ga., where the officers were separated from the men; the men being sent to endure the horrors of Andersonville while the officers were taken to Camp Oglethorpe at Macon, Ga., there to be detained for three months.

Unfortunately for this story it is not certain if Col. Roberts' reunion with Captain Strickland occurred at this time, the record being incomplete, but it was likely that it was so. The report shows that both men had been promoted to captaincies in their respective regiments in April of that year. On the first day of June had occurred the battle of Guntown, Miss., in which Captain Strickland was wounded and taken prisoner and Col. Roberts,' though captured on that breakfastless morning of May 7, owing to the round-about journey which he was forced to make and the several detentions at various points, could scarcely have reached Camp Oglethorpe before the second week of June. Captain Strickland's name does not appear in the Robert's narrative till the account of the return home is arrived at.

However that may be, loneliness was not among the many hardships to which Colonel Roberts was subjected. He found awaiting him no less than 2,200 officers ranking from 2nd Lieutenant to Major General. They were divided into 22 squads and he was appointed to number one, doubtless to take the place of some unfortunate who had gained his freedom at the hands of death. He has given us a graphic description of his initiation into "Camp":

"As we entered we were greeted by an immense crowd surrounding us with wild cries of "fresh fish," but looking around I could discover nothing that looked like fresh fish although I would have liked mighty well to have had some; and "Don't put that grayback on him." and "Keep your hands out of his pockets," and like expressions from a motley, ragged crowd of beings who were dressed in every imaginable way; barefoot, hollow-eyed, ragged bearded; (wearing) remnants of shoes with soles tied onto the uppers by strings but from the top; some with trousers but a great many without; these were the old prisoners who had been transferred from the Libby prison at Richmond.

I turned to one who looked a little more civilized than the rest and said (that) I thought this was an officers prison. He said, "My dear fellow, so it is, but after you have been here three or four years you will be as bad as they." I said, ("Great God!")

The three months imprisonment at Camp Oglethorpe were fraught with many hardships—hunger, exposure, sickness, humiliation and its inevitable, consequent despairs. "Our whole time," writes Col. Roberts, "was taken up planning escapes—studying the stars and tunnelling." Yet a spirit of gallant humor towards the situation proved the eternal courage in the hearts of these men. We read, for instance, of a parody composed by one of the number on Charles Mackay's "Tell me, ye winged winds" beginning:

"Tell me, ye gray-backed rebs who daily round me roam."

Their ever insistent hunger was metaphysically assuaged by the printing of elaborate bills-of-fare, executed in charcoal, upon which they gazed as little David Copperfield upon the pineapples in Covent Garden fruit-stalls, mush and sorghum constituting, as ever, the

vicarious fulfillment of their epicurian dreams. Wagers, their payment pending the time of their exchange, were sometimes laid on the fortune residing in a pack of greasy cards, the stakes constituting bounteous repasts at luxurious restaurants, every item upon the menu being chosen with elaborate minutiae and agreed upon in advance.

Once a famous dinner actually was contrived. Col. Simonson, also a Springfield man, who had had some luck at poker, agreed to buy the provender if Col. Roberts would undertake to make a big plum pudding—out of blackberries. The "makings", obtained from the rebel sutler, was as follows:

| | Confederate money |
|---|---|
| 1 quart of blackberries | $ 5.00 |
| 1 quart of corn meal | 1.00 |
| 1 pint molasses | 5.00 |
| 1 tablespoonful soda | .50 |
| 1 tablespoonful salt | .50 |
| Total | $12.00 |

The whole was mixed with water, sewed into a piece of old shirt, "carefully laundered", and boiled in a borrowed kettle for two hours and ten minutes; after which, being pronounced done, it was served magnificently on tin plates (also borrowed) with molasses for sauce.

To the 4th of July belongs a vivid episode. We are given a picture of a day heavy with memories, sullen with fallen hopes, the sad denials of that liberty which our forefathers had fought to establish for all their sons. Men, huddled together in an old warehouse in the stockade—twenty-two hundred men. A prisoner takes from his bosom—God knows how it had been preserved—a tiny American flag, "the size of your hand", and suddenly a vibration is set going. These men, a moment since but heavy, human automatons, are thrilled into vibrant life.

> The star spangled banner, Oh long may it wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave,

rings out on the rebel air. *Twenty-two hundred voices*, many of which had never before been raised in song! "There were tears in nearly every eye", says the story, "for that flag, tiny tho it was, to us, prisoners of war in an enemy's country, friendless, ragged, hungry and despairing, represented friends, food, hope and raiment".

But suddenly the splendid moment is at end and they find themselves confronted by a line of guards in charge of a rebel officer commanding them to "cease that infernal noise and come out of that", following the command with the fearful threat of suspended rations—a threat which in its execution would doubtless have meant death to some of the exhausted men.

The weary term in Macon prison was finally ended and hope was renewed by the announcement that the prisoners were to be exchanged at Charleston, S. C. That promise was to end, for some, in "a rendezvous with death" for on arrival they were placed directly under fire of their own guns from the Union batteries before that place. "But",

says Col. Roberts, "if the rebels intended this as punishment they were never more mistaken for the sound of those guns that tossed great shells around us was music to our ears."

This durance was for two months, after which they were removed to Columbia, S. C., where they were kept for two months longer, quite without housing, this time, being merely held on the outskirts of the city in an open space with a guard thrown 'round them. This was the place they called "Camp Sorghum", from the fact that sorghum molasses was the chief article of diet.

In this connection a serio-comic incident is related. The prisoners were ravenous for meat—an item notoriously inconspicuous in their diet. One day a hostage was vouchsafed them from the gods of plenty. An old, decrepit, skinny hog, persuaded of destiny, crossed the guard and dead lines and immediately the whole camp was alive. "Meat! Meat!" was cried to heaven, and with butcher-knives, clubs, camp kettles, razors and any available weapons the beast was set upon and killed. Torn, limb from limb, to the desperate gratification of the hungry men and the uproarious amusement of the guards.

Then came the great day of the escape. It is recorded as the 26th day of November, 1864, and letters of red should mark its place upon the calendar. For at least three men that day there was proof that all things come to those who wait.

It came about in this way—winter was approaching and the prisoners were permitted to make certain rude provisions for shelter. To this end some officers were given their parole of honor not to attempt escape and so allowed to go outside the guard-line to cut wood. Among this number was Capt. Strickland who, accordingly provided himself with an axe and went outside the lines. While in the woods, however, word reached him that some prisoners were scheming their escape and immediately he resolved upon a plan of his own.

The guards that day were green country boys, unused to the nuances of desperate men, and relying upon that fact Capt. Strickland returned to camp, gave up his parole and then, without so much as getting his coat, lest that simple act arouse suspicion, he returned to the woods, walking boldly past the guards who supposed him still to be under parole and within his rights.

Col. Roberts was not among those who had accepted a parole. It was, in fact his day to cook, and just prior to the great decision that gave him back his liberty, he was engaged in boiling the half-pint of cow peas that was to last himself and bunkie for two days. It is one of the naive reflections that he confides to paper that for all he knows "those cow peas are cooking yet." His escape was effected by an apparently simple expedient. With a companion, Capt. Brady, of the 2nd New Jersey Infantry, he simply mingled with the men who were going to the woods, again relying on the untrained eye of the new, raw guards, and passed out of that hateful place for ever. Having reached the woods without that expected cry of "Halt" or the prod in the back with the bayonet which would mean "right-about face", the two men bade their comrades good-bye and followed by many "God bless yous" set out upon their long road to freedom. Though their hopes were high and their mood exultant, yet they were

without food, money or clothing, strangers in an enemy land, and it was with what seemed the least probable of chances of winning back to their own lines that they set out in the general direction of the whereabouts of Sherman's army, then making its march to the sea, and of which great military contingent the 7th Illinois was now a part.

Although information that would assist them in the vicissitudes of this adventure was scant enough they had been well advised on one point. They had been told that the negroes, particularly the field-slaves, could be relied upon to give assistance to escaped northern men, and Col. Roberts writes, feelingly: "Let me bear testimony to the unswerving loyalty and unselfish kindness of the negroes without whose assistance no Union soldier could have penetrated through the miles of swamp and woods that lay between them and liberty."

On the first day and night after their escape they traveled, without stopping, about thirty miles and then lay down, just before sun-up, secreting themselves in a thicket and falling asleep. About noon Col. Roberts awoke to find himself the object of the curious gaze of a great crowd of negroes—men, women and children—whom Col. Brady, awakening before him, had encountered in his search for food. and conducted thither. All that day the two men lay in the thicket, the negroes bringing them food, but about nine o'clock they went into the cabin where they spent the night. That cabin scene, a bizarre but ingratiating tableau, is described for us:

"Imagine a cabin with a rough puncheon floor and a wide fire place across one end, which was piled with blazing logs, at which stood four wenches; one roasting a 'possum, one making a persimmon pie, one baking sweet potatoes and one cooking a corn pone, while in the center was an old gray-headed negro playing on a cracked fiddle while two little pickaninnies were dancing in their bare feet; black faces were peering in at the door at us as we crouched in a corner and gazing at the wierd scene over which the firelight threw its fitful glare, with mingled feelings of amusement and curiosity."

Col. Roberts and his friend were out for ten nights in which they travelled one hundred and eighty miles. They proceeded, for safety, always in the same way, one marching in front, the other ten paces in the rear. The dangers, the intolerable weariness, hunger, apprehension and loneliness of that journey, so hardly beset by the malign forces surrounding them, may be imagined. "Through deep sand," runs the narrative, "over rivers and creeks, through vast forests and swamps, startled by every rustling leaf, seeing an enemy in every tree and stump, skulking past towns like thieves in the dead of night, shrinking from the sight of every human face except the negroes who, alone, showed us sympathy."

Once, only, in their long and hazardous hegira did they encounter white men. They had, on this occasion, traveled for hours through an immense pine forest. The loneliness had been intolerable and the shadows on that night of stars a source of innumerable alarms.

The silence, save for the greater agony of the night voices, and the gloom, but more than all the incessant sighing and moaning of the wind in those funereal branches had wrought upon their nerves a state

of extreme apprehensiveness. Finally the road, which tended to grow fainter and fainter, was completely lost and they found themselves in an abandoned cotton field where, taking the stars for guides, they stumbled on, struck a road for a time and then came to a place where two roads forked and which was furnished with a sign board.

The import of this signboard was tremendous. Upon the deciphering of its legend might depend, for them, the issues of life and death. Long and long they gazed in that dim light, but only by standing one upon the other's shoulders could they make out the words, "Aiken 10 miles." Aiken was on their route to Augusta so they took that road and just at daybreak came upon a farm house.

Desperate for water they approached it, but as they drew near a pack of hounds flew fiercely out and they were forced to retreat to the woods where, safely out of sight, dropping exhausted under the trees, they fell asleep.

Around noon they were awakened and, again reconnoitering, discovered to their horror that they were being watched by two men in southern uniforms. Then followed a sort of hide-and-seek performance covering several hours, which ended through the perseverance of two women who, coming up to them in their hiding place, told them that the men they had seen—their brothers—were deserters from the rebel army. They returned, therefore with the two women to their cabin where they were treated kindly by the Confederates, fed sumptuously on squirrel pie and other southern delicacies and, that night, sent rejoicing on their way.

Their two last nights out were altogether, perhaps, the ones in which they stood in the greatest danger for they were approaching a place where the Northern and Southern forces were drawing to a point of hostility. They had struck the Savannah river, at last, about twelve miles below Augusta but could hear nothing of Sherman's army, so their next fixed plan was to reach the Union fleet out at sea. For that purpose a leaky dugout was appropriated and, though the rain fell steadily, they made thirty miles that night, hugging the shore to avoid rebel gun-boats coming up, and maneuvering carefully past an obstruction in the river. At daylight they alighted at a small island and building a fire dried their clothes and were starting on when a muffled roar apprised them that somewhere in their vicinity a battle was in progress. Continuing on their way they shortly turned into a little creek quite unaware that just beyond that inundation was a rebel fort housing four thousand troops.

Plantation negroes fed and hid them for that day and then learning that Generals Kilpatrick and Wheeler were fighting on Bear Creek, from whence had come the sound of guns, they set out to reach the Union forces at that place. Though lost almost immediately they came across some negroes in slave quarters of a plantation and induced them, with large promises, to guide them through the lines. All went well, the negroes going ahead, until they met a squadron of soldiers when their officer carried the negroes off with them at the point of a gun. Col. Roberts and his companion, lying face downward beside the road, arose when the enemy had passed, and silently shook hands in token of congratulation at another danger passed.

Twice that night, stumbling on without a guide, they came upon campfires surrounded by confederates and one time, in detouring, fell into a swamp.

In this last predicament they had the good fortune to come upon an old negro who told them that they were near the theater of the battle of yesterday and conducted them to Bear Creek. Just as they reached the place of crossing they were electrified by the most welcome of all imagined sounds to those northern ears—the strains of a Union band!

The bridge having been burned on the previous day and Brady being unable to swim, Col. Roberts swam across, breaking the thin ice as he went, and reaching the shore set out in the direction from which the music came. For almost an hour he ran. Then suddenly a dozen cavalrymen rode out of the woods before him.

"Halt!" they cried to Col. Roberts. *And Col. Roberts halted.*

"What emotion filled my breast", he writes, "I cannot describe. "While they were bearing down on me with flashing sabers and cocked revolvers, and I stood there clothed only in a few rags, dripping with wet and barefoot on that chill December morning, I felt no fear for I saw they wore the glorified blue of our army and that my friendless wanderings were over * * * *"

After he had convinced the men of his proper status he was given breakfast, fitted with an old suit of clothes, a hat and a pair of negro shoes, and returned with them to the creek to rescue Col. Brady.

Arriving at the point of crossing on Bear Creek Col. Roberts called aloud his comrade's name. Again, and yet again, he called, and a great fear that he had been recaptured was beginning to chill his heart when he heard his voice. "Who is that over that that knows me?" he said. When assured that Union men were actually before him he was nearly overcome. "My God, Roberts," he said, "is that you and are we really saved?"

The good fortune that delivered the weary refugees into the hands of the cavalrymen Col. Roberts considers nothing less than providential for they comprised a part of Kilpatrick's escort, detained on this particular morning by an order to secure some horses to replace those killed in the battle of the previous day, the main body of the cavalry having gone on in an effort to overtake the army of General Sherman then thirty miles in advance.

Their rescue was effected on the fifth day of December and on the fifteenth of that month the cavalry came up with the main body of the army just as it entered Savannah to invest that place. Here Col. Roberts left Col. Brady with Kilpatrick's staff and proceeded to seek out his own regiment. He first located the Fifteenth Corps by inquiring "where those cartridge box fellows with the forty rounds were," by which allusion Logan's corps would have been recognized anywhere in the army. Then he inquired his way to the Second Division, then the Third Brigade and finally reached the Seventh Infantry where he found his old chum, Maj. E. S. Johnson, which meeting affected both so greatly that neither could speak but "stood hugging each other and crying like school children." "The officers and men," he writes, "got round me, about one hundred deep, and the officers kept

Capt. Edward Strickland

sticking twenty dollar bills in my pockets (those impoverished pockets!) and making offers of clothes and anything and everything. I thought it worth suffering seven months in Confederate prisons, he continues, feelingly, "to receive such a welcome from my dear comrades-in-arms."

After the capture of Savannah, which occurred on the 20th of December, Gen. Sherman granted Col. Roberts a thirty days' leave of absence, a furlough of which he availed himself with all speed, parting from his friend Col. Brady on the pier of North River in New York City never to see him again and arriving in Springfield, supposedly about the first of January.

To return to November the 26th, that momentous day that was to see Col. Roberts well upon his perilous way to join the Sherman forces was to speed Captain Strickland upon another course, no less dangerous and probably quite as fruitful in adventures attending his escape. It is unfortunate that no record exists to prove the point. It is known, however that he chose a northwestern route for his exodus, with Knoxville, Tennessee as his objective.

Though he set out quite alone he came upon another escaped prisoner before nightfall who supplied him with an old Confederate jacket and they made the journey together. They, too, travelled by night and slept by day, trusting to the kindness of the field slaves to furnish them with food and shelter whenever possible and to direct them nightly on their way. Sometimes they passed as Confederates, using Longstreet's name as passport—a magic name throughout the South.

Somewhere in the Carolinas they were told of one, Bob Boone, who was a buyer of mules for the government and who might assist them in getting through to the North. It was necessary to wait two weeks for his return but it was their opportunity so they remained in hiding until that time and it was under his guidance that Captain Strickland and his companion got safely through that dangerous territory to Knoxville. There northern friends outfitted them and they parted company the former returning as promptly as might be to Springfield.

And here coincidence lays its last fantastic touch upon the destinies of Col. Edward R. Roberts and Captain Edward P. Strickland for on the morning following their return, each believing the other to be alive and well but in the noxious confines of "Camp Sorghum" at Columbia, S. C., set out for the home of the other supposedly unfortunate man, to apprise his family of his present fortune when, somewhere upon Sixth Street, probably in the neighborhood of the Leland Hotel, they met.

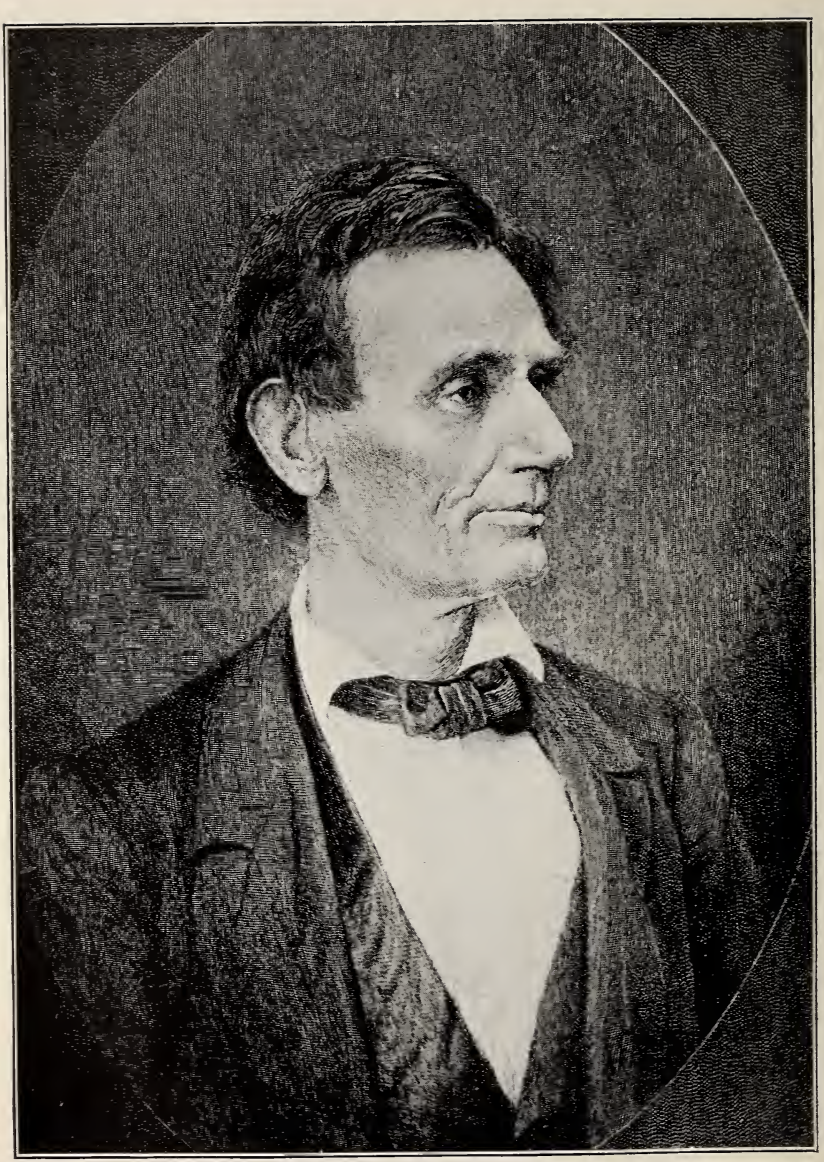
* * * * * * * * *

It is in the nature of an anti-climax, I fear, to complete, however briefly, the military history of these two men but those who are more concerned with fact than literary fitness will be interested to know that at the expiration of his leave of absence Col. Roberts returned to the south to join his regiment which, after the surrender of Gen. Johnson on April 22nd, took up its line of march for home by way of Petersburg, Richmond and Alexandria, May 17, 1865, and took part in the

grand review at Washington, when it was ordered to Louisville, Kentucky, there on the 9th of July to be mustered out of service.

Captain Strickland after his leave in Springfield was again mustered into service on February 11th of that year, his regiment being sent to New Orleans. It took part in the battle of Spanish Fort, Alabama, and remained in the south in the neighborhoods of Mobile Bay and Montgomery until ordered to Vicksburg for Muster-out on August 3rd.

Thus ended the long, valiant, and extraordinarily eventful service of two of Springfield's honored sons.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
(Hessler)

## THE ANCESTRY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By William E. Barton.

There is no city in America or in the world where it is not an honor to speak on Abraham Lincoln, but there is no other city where the honor brings with it so sacred and intimate a sense of fitness as this city of Springfield. This city Lincoln may almost be said to have created; for his was the determinative influence that transferred the State Capitol hither from Vandalia. This city he chose as his home, and here he developed from a crude, country lawyer, without either library or practice, into the foremost political leader of this great Commonwealth. Here he found the atmosphere which stimulated his rising genius. Here he made the lasting friendships that shaped his destiny. Here he wooed and married Mary Todd. Here, as he reminded his neighbors, his children were born. Here his ashes lie entombed. Here if anywhere his spirit should abide. It is and must always be an honor to speak in Springfield concerning Abraham Lincoln.

It is an additional honor to speak in this noble building, erected to commemorate the centenary of this State, to house worthily the treasured memorials of her notable history, and to provide for the holding of meetings such as this.

It has been my privilege several times to speak on Lincoln in this city. I have spoken here on his life and character; on the qualities that made him famous and his influence imperishable; on the work he did for his country and mankind. I have spoken before this Society on the contribution of Illinois to the evolution of Lincoln's career.* All these are what may be termed popular subjects. They evoke immediate attention, and if they are adequately treated they are certain to be heard with interest.

But I speak tonight on a very different theme, and one which I may not hope to succeed in making entertaining. The subject which I have chosen cannot claim to be justified by widespread popular interest in it. The general public accepts Abraham Lincoln for what he was, and cares but little in comparison how he came to be the kind of man the world knows him to have been. To a very large degree, this attitude of the public is justified. What Abraham Lincoln was, is the subject of supreme significance; and how he came to be so is of lesser importance. Nevertheless, a Society such as this has as its purpose not only to preserve the body of known facts that already exist, but to add to the sum of human knowledge. A topic could lend itself to the graces of oratory would be more thrillingly interesting to the relatively small group of immediate hearers; but if a careful study of a subject such as this can by any possibility add to the knowledge of writers and speakers in future years, the audience instructed may be vastly multiplied.

* See Proceedings of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1921.

So I have chosen this theme for the sake of its permanent value rather than for its immediate appeal.

A recent writer has referred somewhat scornfully to attempts such as this to discover Lincoln's family history; it is rather anomalous, so this writer affirms, for present investigators to waste so much time and labor on a subject in which Abraham Lincoln himself took no interest whatever. But this oracular and satirical declaration would be more important if it were true.

Abraham Lincoln displayed a keen interest in the subject of his ancestry, together with what Herndon called a deep and significant reserve. There is some reason to think that the reserve was chiefly if not wholly with respect to his mother's side of the house, and that his chief interest was on his father's side. In the biographical sketches prepared by him in which there is any mention of his ancestry, he gives in extended detail the facts he had accumulated concerning the Lincoln family, while of his mother, he simply says that her name was Nancy Hanks, or that she was "of a family by the name of Hanks." As early as 1848, when Lincoln was in Congress, he answered an inquiry of Hon. Solomon Lincoln, of Hingham, Mass., giving him, in two letters, these facts:

"My father's name was Thomas—my grandfather's was Abraham, same as my own. My grandfather went from Rockingham County in Virginia, to Kentucky, about the year 1782, and two years afterwards* was killed by the Indians. We have a vague tradition, that my great-grandfather went from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and that he was a Quaker. Further than this, I never heard anything. It may do no harm to say that 'Abraham' and 'Mordecai' are common names in our family. * * * *

"I have mentioned that my grandfather's name was Abraham. He had, as I think I have heard, four brothers, Isaac, Jacob, Thomas and John. He had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, the last my father."*

In the same year he was in correspondence with David Lincoln of Virginia, and displayed a very active interest in all that he was able to learn of his ancestry.

The sketches which Lincoln prepared in December, 1859, for Jesse W. Fell and in May, 1860 for John Locke Scripps elaborate this material slightly as to his paternal descent and give very meager data concerning his mother, Nancy Hanks.

Since the death of President Lincoln, his lineage has been more industriously investigated than that, probably, of any other American. Hon. Samuel Shackford of Chicago contributed in an important measure to the tracing of his line from Massachusetts through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Virginia. Various authors have contributed to our knowledge of the direct Lincoln line in America, and there has been one ambitious attempt to trace the line in England. In 1909, James Henry Lea. an American, and a relative of Lyman

* As we shall later discover, this date is not quite correct. His grandfather's death occurred in May, 1786.

* "Notes on the Lincoln Families of Massachusetts, with Some Account of the Family of Abraham Lincoln", by Solomon Lincoln. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1865.*

Trumbull, with whom in Mr. Lea's boyhood he had once met, at the close of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the future President, published a sumptuous volume entitled "The Ancestry of Lincoln."* Mr. Lea had associated with him as co-author, J. R. Hutchinson, an English genealogist, who traced the Lincoln family in England, and thought he demonstrated a connection with the line which established itself in Hingham, Massachusetts, before 1640.

This handsome volume carried conviction by the very beauty of its typography. It is stated by Hon. Waldo Lincoln that it now appears that the line breaks at the horizon, and the connection between the Lincolns in Old England and New England is yet to be established. But there is no doubt that the American Lincolns came from the county of Hingham, in Norwich, in England. As for the American genealogy, set forth by Lea and Hutchinson, it is high praise to say that it is not always wrong.

A more careful work appeared in the same year from the pen of Prof. Marion Dexter Learned of the University of Pennsylvania, entitled, "Abraham Lincoln: An American Migration", but it covered a limited field. It established its purpose of refuting a claim that the Lincolns were of Germanic extraction, and it furnished valuable material on the migration of the family, from New England, through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, but it was not and did not undertake to be a complete genealogy.

In 1923, Mr. Waldo Lincoln, of Worcester, Massachusetts, President of the American Antiquarian Society, published his "History of the Lincoln Family". It is a volume of bulk and value. In a number of respects it is unsatisfactory, but taking it as a whole, it is far and away the best account we have of Abraham Lincoln's paternal line. On the maternal side, it leaves much to be desired. It does not follow Lea and Hutchinson in their attempt to trace the ancestral line across the ocean, but deals authoritatively with the American line, and may be said to complete the labor to which many investigators have contributed, and which Mr. Waldo Lincoln has brought to a successful issue. The main facts concerning President Lincoln's descent from Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts, were already fairly well established; but a few doubts have been resolved, and the following line will stand permanently as that which marks the descent of Abraham Lincoln from the parent Massachusetts stock:

I. Samuel Lincoln was born in England in 1619*, and settled at Hingham, Mass., before 1640. He was a weaver. He died at Hingham, May 26, 1690, aged 71 years. His wife's name was Martha, and she died in Hingham April 10, 1693.

II. Mordecai Lincoln, son of Samuel and Martha Lincoln, was born at Hingham, Mass., June 14, 1657, and died at Scituate, Mass., November 28, 1727. He married (1) about 1685, Sarah,

* Published in 1909 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

* This is the date of birth of Samuel Lincoln, as derived from his statement of his age at the time of his coming to America, and is consistent with the statement by his family as to his age at the time of his death. The Samuel Lincoln who was baptized at Hingham in Old England, August 24, 1622, would, if baptized immediately after birth, as was customary, have been nearly three years younger.

daughter of Abraham and Sarah (Whitman) Jones of Hull, and (2) Mrs. Mary (Hobart) Chapin, February 17, 1701-2. It is through Abraham Jones, apparently, that the name Abraham, so celebrated in the Lincoln family, became a Lincoln name.

III. Mordecai Lincoln, son of Mordecai and Sarah Lincoln, was born at Hingham, Mass., April 24, 1686, and died at Amity, Pennsylvania, May 12, 1736. He married first, Hanna Salter, daughter of Richard Salter, of Freehold, New Jersey. His second marriage was to Mary, thought to have been a daughter of Andrew Robeson, of Amity, Pennsylvania, and probably occurred in the summer of 1729. She died March 25, 1783.

IV. John Lincoln, son of Mordecai and Hannah Lincoln, was born at Freehold, New Jersey, May 3, 1716, and died on Linville Creek, Rockinham County, Virginia, in November, 1788. He married Mrs. Rebecca (Flowers) Morris. He is called "Virginia John" to distinguish him from a cousin.

V. Abraham Lincoln, son of John and Rebecca Lincoln, was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, May 13, 1744, removed to Rockingham, then a part of Augusta County, where, in 1770, he married Bathsheba Herring, the mother of all his children. In 1780, he made his first visit to Kentucky, and removed to that state in 1782. He was killed by Indians, on his farm on Long Run of Floyd's Fork in Jefferson County, close to the Shelby County line, in May, 1786. His grave is probably within the enclosure of the Long Run Baptist church, which stands on land that belonged to him. His widow, Bathsheba, remained on Long Run until the following autumn, and later removed to Washington County, where her three sons and two daughters grew up. Her last years were spent with her younger danghter, Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, on Mill Creek, in Hardin County. She died in 1836, and is buried in the old Mill Creek cemetery.

VI. Thomas Lincoln, son of Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln, was born in Linville Creek, in that part of Augusta County which is now Rockingham, Virginia, January 6, 1778. When he was four years old, his parents moved to Kentucky. At the age of eight, he witnessed the murder of his father. He married (1) in Washington County, Kentucky, June 12, 1806, Nancy Hanks, the mother of his three children. She was born in Virginia, in 1783 or 1784, and died in Spencer County, Indiana, October 5, 1818. He married (2) at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnston, daughter of Christopher Bush and widow of Daniel Johnston, whom she had married March 13, 1806, and who died in October, 1818. She was born in Kentucky, December 13, 1788, and died in Coles County, Illinois, December 10, 1869. Thomas Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana in the autumn of 1816, and to Illinois in the spring of 1830. He died on his farm on Goose Nest Prairie, Coles County, Illinois, January 17, 1851, and is buried in the church-yard of Shiloh Church, near Janesville, Illinois. A monument to the memory of Thomas and Sarah Lincoln was dedicated in Shiloh Cemetery, one week ago today, Friday, May 16, 1924.

VII. Abraham Lincoln,* sixteenth President of the United States, was born on Nolin Creek, in that part of Hardin which is now Larue County, Kentucky, Sunday, February 12, 1809, and died at Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865. He married at Springfield, Illinois, November 4, 1842, Mary, daughter of Robert and Ann Eliza (Parker) Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. She was born in Lexington, December 13, 1818, and died in Springfield, Illinois, July 16, 1882. They had four sons: Robert Todd, born August 1, 1843, and still living; Edward Baker, born March 10, 1846, and died in Springfield, February 1, 1850; William Wallace, born December 21, 1850, and died in the White House, February 20, 1862; and Thomas, or "Tad" born April 4, 1853, and died in Chicago at what was then numbered 372 Washington Boulevard, between Elizabeth and Ann Streets, July 15, 1871.

This completes the direct paternal line from Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, 1640, to the President himself. It was distinctively a Massachusetts family. Mr. Charles Z. Lincoln, in an address at Taunton, Mass., on July 12, 1906, declared that he had made careful search of the records of the Revolutionary War, and had found only six Revolutionary soldiers named Lincoln outside New England—one from New York, one from Pennsylvania, and three from New Jersey—and only fourteen from New England outside Massachusetts, while Massachusetts had to her credit 335 Revolutionary soldiers named Lincoln including, no doubt some re-enlistments.

While the name Lincoln was sometimes misspelled, as were all other names on the frontier, the Lincolns themselves did not misspell it; they never wrote it "Linkern" or "Linkhorn," though the neighbors sometimes spoke or wrote it so; the Lincolns wrote it "Lincoln."

The paternal line of Lincoln's ancestry is thus well established, but his maternal line is in worse confusion than it was twenty-five years ago. Meager at best was the material for an accurate history of the Hanks family. They kept no records. They duplicated names in constantly overlapping generations. They were highly migratory. It was difficult to find a basis for a consistent account of their wanderings and domestic relationships. Nicolay and Hay gave up all attempt to trace Lincoln's Hank's lineage back of his mother's mother, saying that in the tangle of cousinships it was practically impossible to trace a reliable connection.* Meager and unsatisfactory as this material was when they prepared their monumental work, it is vastly less satisfactory now; for what little wisdom then was on the subject has had accredited contribution of those who darkened counsel by words without knowledge.

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* I am not discussing in this address the question of the legitimacy of Abraham Lincoln. That question I have fully considered in a volume entitled "The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln" published in 1920, by George H. Doran Co. of New York. The conclusions of that volume are assumed in this address, and need not here be repeated.

* Nicolay and Hay, who wrote with the knowledge and presumbly with the approval of Robert T. Lincoln, stated in their notable biography of Lincoln that Abraham Lincoln's mother was Nancy Hanks, a daughter of Lucy Hanks. They affirmed that Lucy married Henry Sparrow, and that she had three sisters, Mary or Polly, who married Jesse Friend, Elizabeth who married Thomas Sparrow and Nancy who married Levi Hall. This statement ought to have stood without contradiction unless some one possessed facts that disapprove it; and no one did or does possess such facts.

Tonight I am recalling to life two women, who have been butchered by the biographers. The two whom I raise from artificial oblivion are Nancy Hanks, daughter of Joseph Hanks, and wife of Levi Hall, and her sister, Lucy Hanks, wife of Henry Sparrow. They shall live, for they deserve to live. But I must balance this life-giving act of mine with some bloodshed of my own. I must lead to the block three charming ladies, Mary Shipley Lincoln, wife of Abraham Lincoln the pioneer and mother of Thomas Lincoln, Lucy Shipley Berry, wife of Richard Berry—the "dear Aunt Lucy" of whom certain sentimental writers tell us—and Nancy Sparrow Friend, wife of Charles Friend and mother of Dennis Hanks. I must chop their heads off, one by one. They never existed. They were created out of less material than went to the making of Eve and have been shivering through the Lincoln literature of the last twenty-five years without a single fig-leaf of fact to cover the nakedness of their invention.

In 1899, Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock issued a little book entitled "Nancy Hanks: The Story of Abraham Lincoln's Mother." The lady announced that she had compiled a genealogy of the Hanks family, and that it was soon to be published, this little book being an advance publication of the essential facts so far as they related to the ancestry of Lincoln's mother. Miss Ida M. Tarbell wrote the introduction, and declared that in this book Mrs. Hitchcock had "silenced forever the painful doubts" on this subject, and "deserved the gratitude of every admirer of Abraham Lincoln and lover of truth."

This little book affirmed that Robert Shipley of Virginia had five daughters, Mary, who married Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President; Lucy, who married Richard Berry; Sarah, who married Robert Mitchell; Elizabeth, who married Thomas Sparrow; and Nancy, who married Joseph Hanks. This Joseph Hanks, she declared, was the father of Nancy Hanks, the mother of the President, the parents of Abraham Lincoln thus being first cousins. In proof of this, she presented her one important document, the will of Joseph Hanks, of Nelson County, Kentucky, dated January 9, 1793, and probated May 14, 1793. This will named his wife, Nannie, to whom he left the life use of his property, four sons, Thomas, Joshua, William and Joseph, to each of whom he left a horse, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Polly and Nancy, to each of whom he left a heifer. The heifer, a yearling, left to his daughter Nancy was spotted, and bore the name Peidy. To his son Joseph, he bequeathed his farm of 150 acres, subject to the life use of his widow. His widow Nannie and his son William were appointed as executrix and executor of the will.

Mrs. Hitchcock appears to have been the first to find this will in the clerk's office in Bardstown, where it may still be seen. For the discovery she deserves credit, though it is most unfortunate that the discovery was not made by a more discriminating authority. Mrs. Hitchcock asked herself whether this last named and presumably youngest daughter Nancy was not the mother of the president, and at once answered in the affirmative. The fact that almost every other Hanks family at that time contained a daughter Nancy did not prevent

her exalting her conjecture into a demonstration, and as such Miss Tarbell accepted it.*

One other document appeared to favor this theory. When Thomas Lincoln made application, June 10, 1806, for license to marry Nancy Hanks, a bond had to be given, and it was customary that the surety signing with the prospective bridegroom should be the father or other male relative of the bride. Where the bride had no father, almost any neighbor would assume a guardianship by courtesy; indeed, so complete a formality was the giving of the marriage bond that it does not appear that the Commonwealth of Kentucky has ever entered suit on a marriage bond. Almost any by-stander in a Kentucky court house will sign a marriage bond where the marriage is evidently one in good faith. But Mrs. Hitchcock saw in the "guardianship" of Richard Berry all that her theory lacked of complete proof. After the death of Joseph Hanks, so she declared as confidently as if it had been true, Nancy Hanks was adopted by her "kind Uncle Richard and dear Aunty Lucy Berry". She quoted the names and endearing adjectives as though she had some reason to suppose that Nancy Hanks had ever used them. As a matter of fact, "kind Uncle Richard" had been dead a long time, and he was not her uncle; and "dear Aunt Lucy" was not her aunt and her name was not Lucy. The Richard Berry who, as a neighbor and friend of the Lincolns, signed Thomas Lincoln's bond, was the second Richard Berry, whose wife was Polly Ewing. His mother's name was not Lucy but Rachel.

Mrs. Hitchcock's theory encountered greater difficulties than this, however, and she was equal to them. She learned in some way who was the father of Dennis Hanks; and it is not easy to conjecture how she learned who his father was without learning also who his mother was; for Dennis Hanks himself, while admitting to William H. Herndon that he was illegitimate, did not reveal the name of his father. His father's name was Charles Friend, a brother of the Jessie Friend who married Mary or Polly Hanks. Charles Friend was the father of more than one illegitimate son by more than one mother, and when he married it was not the mother of Dennis Hanks whom he married.* This was a fact not difficult to discover, but Mrs. Hitchcock conveniently failed to discover it. Instead she created a new mother for Dennis, thus getting rid of the necessity of acknowledging that Joseph Hanks had a daughter Nancy who had an illegitimate child, and who could not have been the mother of the President. As this process deprived Levi Hall of a wife, he was conveniently married to Elizabeth, another of the daughters of Joseph Hanks. That she had one husband already, Thomas Sparrow, did not greatly disturb this versatile authoress. Other difficulties were met in the same courageous fashion, and need not here be enumerated.

* Luke Hanks, who died in Abbeville County, S. C., in that part which is now Anderson, left a will dated May 21, 1789 and probated on October 7 of that year. He left all his property to his wife Ann. In 1822 Anderson was cut off into a new county. No one knows when Ann Hanks died.

In 1833, there was a friendly suit in partition, but it was not skillfully handled, and final settlement was in 1842. By that time there were 57 heirs of Luke and Ann Hanks, 27 of them non-resident. Among the 29 women were five Nanceys. This fact will illustrate the folly of jumping at a conclusion based on the practical assumption that there was but one Nancy Hanks. In almost any group of six Hanks girls there was likely to be one Nancy.

* Charles Friend married, November 19, 1804, not the imaginary Nancy Sparrow, nor Nancy Hanks, nor Nancy Riley, one of whom he might have been expected to marry, but Sarah Huss. Sarah was not one of the women who had him arrested for bastardy.

When in 1909, James Henry Lee, a native of Maine, and an admirer of Lincoln, having undertaken with the aid of J. R. Hutchins, his researches in Lincoln genealogy, he turned for assistance in the Hanks line to Mrs. Hitchcock, whose widely announced Hanks Genealogy had not appeared and has not yet appeared, though it is a full quarter century since she promised it.

Mr. Lea was evidently staggered by some of Mrs. Hitchcock's extravagances. She derived the name Hanks from the Egyptian "Ankh", meaning image, or as she preferred, soul. It was unfortunate for her that the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amon had not been discovered, for his middle name would surely have proclaimed him the progenitor of the Hanks family. Along the Roman roads into England with King Arthur, and from there to Plymouth Rock, and so on to Virginia and Kentucky, this regal family marched triumphantly in her manuscript. Mr. Lea saw at once that she had not established connection between the Massachusetts and Virginia Hankses, nor between those of Virginia and Kentucky, and he searched in vain, as others have searched before and since, for the five daughters of Robert Shipley, who, as he truthfully admits, "are not found in the Virginia records." But he had no other source of information concerning the Hankses, and so he adopted her theory with a few rather blundering modifications, though it made a sorry mix-up in his marriages, resulting in at least one case of bigamy.*

In order that this theory should stand, or appear to stand, it was necessary to dispose of the unanimous tradition of the Hanks family prior to 1899. A convenient way was found in attributing the tradition to Dennis, and then discrediting Dennis. Thus Mr. Lea tells us that "Charles Friend married Nancy Sparrow, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Shipley Sparrow, and had a son, Dennis Friend, whose subsequent assumption of the name of Hanks has greatly increased the confusion in the Hanks pedigree". (P. 122). The only true statement in that sentence is that Charles Friend was the father of Dennis Hanks. But Charles Friend did not marry the mother of Dennis, and that mother was not Nancy Sparrow, and Thomas Sparrow did not marry Elizabeth Shipley, and he had no daughter Nancy, and Dennis Hanks was always called Hanks, and did not subsequently assume that name, and his truthful story of his own mother and her family did not increase the popular confusion in the Hanks pedigree. Miss Tarbell in her last book, "In the Footsteps of the Lincolns', clings though with rather a numb grip to this fantastic story: "However grateful we may be to Dennis for the color and liveliness which he has imparted to an important segment of the Lincoln story" she says, "a segment of which he knew much, he cannot be taken seriously as a genealogist." (p. 87). He not only can be taken seriously, but he must be so taken. All that we need to claim for Dennis as a genealogist is that he was able to distinguish between his mother and his female cousin of the same name.

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* Compare pages 122 and 128 and behold the situation which he makes in his attempt to mix fact and Mrs. Hitchcock—thereby marrying Elizabeth Hanks simultaneously to two men, against all the statutes in such case made and provided.

Miss Tarbell is not to be charged with any responsibility for the falsehoods in Mrs. Hitchcock's theory, nor do I charge Mrs. Hitchcock with them. Mrs. Hitchcock had assistance, and how much of the misinformation came to her ready-made I do not undertake to determine. But her theory as it stands wrought out in the sumptuous volume of Lea and Hutchinson is not an innocent wrong guess as to the identity of one of the many women named Nancy Hanks. Some one, working over this material, deliberately falsified it. I do not think it was Mrs. Hitchcock. But she has published a most superficial and misleading book, untrustworthy in its substantial parts. As for Lea and Hutchinson, who evidently wrought in good faith, and whose book carries conviction by the very beauty of its page, they simply must not be trusted in that part of the book derived from Mrs. Hitchcock. Miss Tarbell has stood sponsor for a theory which she was glad to believe, and unfeignedly did believe. She ought to have been more careful.

According to the will of Joseph Hanks he had a wife, Nannie, five sons, Thomas, William, Joshua, Charles and Joseph, and three daughters who are named Elizabeth, Mary or Polly, and Nancy. According to the Hanks tradition, their immigrant ancestor had five sons, Thomas, William, Joshua, Charles and Joseph, and four daughters, Lucy, Elizabeth, Mary or Polly and Nancy. Were there in the same county and same general neighborhood two men named Joseph Hanks with families so nearly identical? Certainly not; especially since in each the daughter Polly married Jesse Friend and the son William married Elizabeth Hall and they became the parents of John Hanks who split rails with Abraham Lincoln. We deal with one family, and not two.

What then about Lucy? The lame reply of those who hold the Hitchcock tradition is that there was no Lucy, daughter of Joseph Hanks, but a "dear Aunt Lucy", wife of Richard Berry. The answer is that neither of those statements is true. There was no "dear Aunt Lucy Berry" and there was a daughter Lucy Hanks.

Why did not Joseph Hanks remember her in his will?

He remembered her, to his sorrow, and in his wrath he disinherited her.

Nancy Hanks, the mother of the President, did not inherit the spotted heifer; she was the innocent reason why her mother Lucy did not receive a heifer.

But was the moral standard of the Hanks family so high that Joseph Hanks cherished his wrath nine years after the birth of his little granddaughter, and cut off his daughter Lucy without a penny for no other reason than that one youthful indiscretion? No; the moral standard of the Hanks family was not so high as that, and no family's standard ought to be of that sort; but unfortunately we know all too well that Joseph Hanks had later and very strong provocation, and that his disinheritance of Lucy was no inadvertance. Lucy has caused him great sorrow, both in Virginia and in Kentucky. At the time of her father's death she was married and living a respectable life, but he died without granting her forgiveness.

With the sons of Joseph Hanks we have little concern. Joseph, who inherited the farm on the death of his mother, sold his interest

to his brother William and returned to Virginia. A few years later he returned and located in Elizabethtown, working at the carpenter's trade. At the same trade worked Thomas Lincoln, and it may have been through this uncle that Thomas Lincoln came to know Nancy Hanks. They met and they loved each other and in due time married. William traded the Hanks farm—which was on Rolling Fork, two miles above the mouth of Pottingics Creek, for land in Grayson County. There, near the Falls of Rough Creek, were born his children, including John Hanks, who later split rails in Macon County, Illinois, with Abraham Lincoln. The other sons do not concern us. We are concerned, however, with the daughters, of only one of whom, hitherto, has there been indisputable record.

Mary, or Polly, Hanks was married December 10, 1795 to Jesse Friend, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky. Her brother, William signed her bond as "guardian," and he signed with a mark.

Nancy, named in the will, was not the President's mother, but her aunt. She married Levi Hall, after first having loved and been deserted by Charles Friend, a brother of Jesse Friend, the husband of her sister Polly. Charles Friend was given to this sort of adventure, and Nancy Hanks was not the only woman who knew him to her sorrow. But he married Sarah Huss, and is buried in the Little Mount Baptist Cemetery, near the church to which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln belonged.

This is the true story of the Hanks sisters as related by Dennis Hanks; I read it from his own unpublished manuscript:*

"Dennis F. Hanks was born in Hardin County on the tributary branch of the South Fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal farm in the old peach orchard in a Log Cabin 3 miles from Hogins Ville. Thence we moved to Mercer County and staid there a Bout 3 years and moved Back again to the Same place and then Remained untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my memory serves me Rite. My mother and Abe's mother's mother were sisters. My mother's name was Nancy Hanks. Abe's grandmother was Lucy Hanks, which was my mother's sister. The woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow, the sister of Lucy and Nancy. The other sister hir name was polly Friend. So you see there was 4 sisters that was Hankses."

The Hall brothers, sons of Levi Hall and Nancy his wife, confirm this statement, which all the Hankses believed prior to 1899. This, too, is confirmed in affidavits which I have from the Friend family.

Yet all this has been discredited hitherto by Mrs. Hitchcock and her followers, who affirm that there was no other Nancy than the President's mother, and no Lucy, and that Elizabeth and not Nancy married Levi Hall.

I now bring a wholly new set of traditions and family records to the permanent settlement of this controversy. In addition to the testimony of the Hankses, Halls and Friends, I have the testimony and records of the Sparrow family. I am happy to announce that since the delivery of this address, I have been able to continue these studies and

* In the Library of the University of Chicago.

have brought them to a conclusion so far the Hanks genealogy is concerned. The lineage of the Hanks family is now established from before the year 1700 to the birth of Abraham Lincoln. This will appear early in 1925 in my "Life of Abraham Lincoln" in two volumes, to be published by Bobbs Merrill Company of Indianapolis. The conclusions announced in this address are fully sustained by these later discoveries.

I am much indebted to State Historical Societies, including this one. This is a good place for me to thank Mrs. Weber and Miss Osborne and their assistants for many kindnesses. Other societies, also, have assisted me. I was working one day in the Library of the Kentucky Society when Mrs. Cannon, the librarian, called my attention to an item in a current Frankfort paper concerning a visitor to the State Capitol on the previous day. He wanted to see the statue of Abraham Lincoln: he said he was a cousin of Lincoln's, and gave the name of the county from which he came, and his own name as Sparrow.

I followed up this clue.

There is in Kentucky a county adjoining Mercer, which in former years sometimes returned a small Republican majority, while Mercer had more Democrats than she needed. A far-sighted Legislature, desiring to make two Democratic counties to grow where formerly there was one, made what is known as "the cut-off," transferring a slice from one county to another, with the happy result that ever since, both counties have been safely Democratic. In "the cut-off" I found the Sparrows.*

The name Sparrow is not infrequent in Colonial history. It is found early in several sections of Virginia. One Captain Charles Sparrow was in the house of Burgesses in 1645, 1648, 1652, 1659-60 from Charles City district.† The families in which we are especially interested are found before the Revolution in Mecklenburg and Halifax, two adjacent counties in the south tier, adjoining the North Carolina line, and near the middle of that line between the states. The Census of 1790 shows Thomas Sparrow to have been a resident of Halifax County in 1782 and 1785, having in 1782 a family of six persons, all white in one dwelling and in 1785 a family of seven. In the same two years the family of John Sparrow was resident in the same county, having a family of seven in one dwelling.

The family whom we seek especially, however, is that of one James Sparrow, who was resident of Mecklenburg County as early as 1765, for there was born his eldest son Henry, October 9, 1765. The Census of 1790 gives us as resident in that county a James B. Sparrow with a family of eight and a James R. Sparrow with a family of 10, all white, in 1782.

The tax-lists of Mecklenburg County, Virginia begin in 1782. In 1783 we have James Sparrow taxed with one slave, 2 horses and 2 head of cattle, and Bolling Sparrow with one slave and 2 head of cattle. In 1784 we have James W. Sparrow taxed with 5 horses and 12 cattle; and we find James R. Sparrow paying for Henry, Thomas and James

* I am indebted for invaluable assistance to the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson of Harrodsburg, Rev. Louis A. Warren of Morganfield, and Hon. William H. Townsend of Lexington.

† Stanard, Register of Colonial Virginia, pp. 65, 67, etc.

Sparrow, presumably his sons. In the same year we have Bolen Sparrow taxed with one horse and two head of cattle and Bolling Sparrow taxed with three slaves, 5 horses and 14 cattle. I infer that James R. Sparrow and James W. Sparrow are one and the same, the middle name of James W. being Wright, sometimes spelled with the initial R. In 1785 James Bolling Sparrow has three horses and 14 cattle. In 1787 James Sparrow has 190 acres of land and James Bowling Sparrow 50 acres of land. In 1788 James Sparrow is recorded as having "no land" and the same entry appears opposite the name of James Bolling Sparrow. After 1788 the name Sparrow disappears from the Mecklenburg County tax lists.

My inference is that there were two James Sparrows, first cousins, one of them James Bowling Sparrow and the other, James Wright Sparrow, who seldom used his middle name except to distinguish him from his cousin. James Wright Sparrow and James Bowling Sparrow removed to Mercer County, Kentucky, probably in 1788. He was the father of the Sparrows in whom we are especially interested, as is shown by his paying in 1784 for Henry, Thomas and James Sparrow.

James Wright Sparrow died in Mercer County, Kentucky, in 1789. His will, is of record thus:

"The noncupative will of James Sparrow, Decd., was produced in Court, Oct. 27, 1789, in the words and figures following:

"In the name of God, Amen, I James Sparrow of Mercer County, Caintucky, and province of Virginia, being of perfect mind and memory, do make this my last Will and Testament and dispose of what little afects God has blessed me with in Mercer following, that is to say lawful Debts to be paid faithfully discharged out of my personal eEstate to my well beloved wife. I leave the rest of my personal estate to rease the childering and support herself and my land is to be divided first One hundred for my eldest son hendry, then the other three hundred to be divided equally to the other fore sons, Thomas, James, Peter and Dinny Sparrow. This is my last will and Testament here given under my hand this 18th day of May, 1789.

"And the same was proved by the oaths of Josiah Campbell, Henry Sparrow, and Judith Sparrow and Susannah Campbell to be the non-cupative will of the said James Sparrow Deceased and ordered to be recorded."

His "well beloved wife" is not named in the will, but we know that her name was Mary.

Was the deceased James R. Sparrow or James B. Sparrow? Quite certainly he was the former. His family was of the right size to have been that of James B. Sparrow, for in addition to his five sons named, we know that there was a daughter, Bridget or Biddy, making a family of eight. He was not James B. Sparrow, for that man still lived. The family of ten of which we have record in Virginia in 1782 might have been reduced by the death of two children, or by the marriage of two daughters in Virginia, or by one marriage and one death. The other family of eight is large enough for any demands which we have thus far discovered in the Mercer County records. We may assure ourselves that the James Sparrow who died in 1789 in Mercer County was James W. or James R. Sparrow, formerly of Mecklenburg County,

Virginia, where we know that the parents of Henry Sparrow were living when he was born in 1765, and where he was living when he enlisted in the Revolutionary War in the spring of 1781. He was 24 years of age when his father died, and, as the will affirms, he was the eldest son. If there were additional daughters, one or two, older, or a few years younger, they might have married in Virginia. As for the six children we shall have something to say, especially concerning Henry, the eldest son. On his father's death, Henry became the head of the family, and when Biddy, or Bridget, was married, by Rev. John Baily, March 5, 1790, (bond March 2, 1790) Henry signed as "Guardian." His mother's name, we are quite certain, was Mary, and she lived for some years after the death of her husband.

With the other James Sparrow, James B., we have less concern, and regarding him we have just enough information to make our search difficult. His middle name was Bowling, a name spelled Bollin, Bolin, and otherwise. With a James Bowling Sparrow, and a James Bolling, and with more than one James Sparrow, and with much carelessness in recording names of peoples who could not write them, we should be forgiven if we make mistakes, but we desire to avoid them if we can.

One of the witnesses to the will of James Sparrow, was Judith Sparrow. We have no account of any such member of his immediate family, and we do not find her marriage later. We may conjecture that she was the wife of James B. Sparrow.

James Bowling Sparrow appears to have had a daughter, Rebecca Bowling Sparrow, who married Peter Sparrow, son of the deceased James or James R., the bond of August 6, 1798, having besides Peter the bond as surety of James B. Sparrow. It must be understood that to all these documents the Sparrows and the Bowlings make their marks. It is, however, a strange coincidence, that when, on November 19, 1800, Peter appears for a second marriage, this time to Milly Edwards, his bondsman is James Bowling.*

James Bowling married Nancy Ellcock, October 19, 1794, his bondsman being Thomas Sparrow. A James Bowling, probably a son, bought land on Doctor's Fork November 10, 1836, and he and his wife Caroline sold land, March 21, 1837.

But if the older James Bowling had been the younger James Sparrow, and had married Nancy Ellcock, we should think we were on safe ground; for Nancy Sparrow, widow, married Richard Elliott, according to the return of Rev. W. W. Hayes, in Nelson County, May 28, 1800. And it would seem that the younger James Sparrow, son of James W. Sparrow, had died, for we miss him out of the family about that time, and some years later when his surviving brothers and sisters make a deposition and swear that they are the only surviving members of the family, there is no James among them. It appears, therefore, that the wife of the younger James Sparrow, as well as the wife of James Bowling, was a Nancy.

So far as we are able to judge, therefore, the documents are to be accepted as showing that there were among the pioneers to Mercer

* The repetition and similarities and variations of these names will illustrate the difficulty of such an investigation as this, where records are fragmentary and not well kept.

County, Kentucky, about 1788, a James W. or James R. Sparrow, who in his will is called James Sparrow, and whose middle initial for the name Wright is used only when necessary to distinguish him from his relative, James B. Sparrow, and a James Bowling Sparrow, who apparently had a son named for himself, and also a James Bowling who was a relative but not a Sparrow.

Our need of the original James B. Sparrow is slight. We have a Judith Sparrow to account for, and we may conjecture that she was his wife, for we are sure that he had a wife. We find Rebecca Bowling Sparrow, and have little doubt that she was his daughter. This family came from the same county with the Berrys and was in some way related to them. John Berry died in 1795. He left to his beloved wife, Anne, certain personal property, and the profits of 200 acres of land. In a codicil he provided that of the land devised to his wife, 50 acres should be "for the use of James B. Sparrow, his life-time and his wife's." This may be taken to imply that James B. Sparrow and his wife, Judith, were aged people in 1795, and that John Berry made provisions thus for these relatives of his own or his wife's, assuming them to have been such.

With this preliminary survey of the Sparrows in Mercer County about the year 1790, we turn to the family that is of immediate concern to us, the children of James or James R. Sparrow, late of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, whose will in Mercer County, Kentucky, was proved October 27, 1789.

He had five sons and one daughter. The son James died, we know not when. He was probably the husband of the widow Nancy Sparrow who married John Elliott in 1800. His death and her marriage take them out of our line of investigation. The surviving children were the four sons, Henry, Thomas, Peter and Dennis, and the daughter Bridget or Biddy.

We now are able to shorten our story. Thomas and Henry Sparrow rode to the Court House in Harrodsburg on October 17, 1796, and gave bond for the marriage of Thomas to Elizabeth Hanks. Their marriage bond has recently been discovered and for the first time.

But previous to this, Henry Sparrow had ridden thither on his own account accompanied by his brother-in-law, John Daniel, Biddy's husband, and swore out a marriage license for Henry Sparrow to marry Lucy Hanks. Lucy had no guardian. John Daniel certified that she was of age, and she herself, being the only one in either family who could write, left this little document:

"I do certify that I am of age and give my approbation freely for Henry Sparrow to git out Lisons this day or any other day. Given under my hand this day, Apriel 26th, 1790.

"Lucey Hanks".

"Attest—
"Robert Mitchell"
"John Berry".

They were not married, however, for nearly a year. On April 3, 1791, Rev. John Bailey, a Baptist preacher, married them; and it is literally true that they lived happily ever afterward. She lived vir-

tuously and well, and brought up her large family in honesty and piety, two of her sons, James and Henry, being ministers of the Gospel.

Her descendants are innumerable, and they are honest, law-abiding, God-fearing people. Most of them voted in 1860 and 1864 for their kinsman, Abraham Lincoln, and several of them who served in the Union Army lie buried in graves that are decorated annually on Memorial Day in the old Sparrow Union Cemetery, near the church where Rev. Henry Sparrow, son of Henry and Lucy, and half-uncle of Abraham Lincoln, preached and prayed for the Union all through the Civil War, and where he and his faithful wife Ailsy lie buried.

The Hanks family was not the illustrious clan of super-royal lineage described by Mrs. Hitchcock. It was a commonplace family, migratory and illiterate, an "undistinguished or second family" as Abraham Lincoln said. But it was not a vicious family. It had practically no criminal record; and cases of sexual irregularity, while not unknown in it, were the exception and not the rule. Moreover, such irregularities did not permanently continue in the lives of those members of the family who occasionally displayed the weakness of human flesh in this regard. The family was not an occasion of pride to Lincoln, but if he had known all that we know—and we know much more about its history than he knew—he need not have felt it a disgrace. It was a decent, humble, honest clan, with no marked abnormalities. It was a family neither of drunkards nor degenerates. It was not degraded; it simply was not graded up.

It was a religious family—of the emotional type well known on the frontier. That religion, for its time and need, is lightly spoken of only by those who view it from the outside without intimate knowledge of frontier conditions. The Hankses, like the Sparrows, Friends and Lincolns, were old-school Baptists;* but in later generations they became more diversified in their denominational adherence.

In this address I am making unblushing use of material furnished by Dennis Hanks. He was the most given to writing of any Hanks of his generation, and a considerable number of his letters are preserved, chiefly through the industry of William H. Herndon. Dennis was born May 15, 1799, as he tells us in a document already cited. He died at Paris, Illinois, October 21, 1892. Dennis was given to a cheerful egotism, and loved to exaggerate his own influence in shaping the career of Lincoln. In one matter, when he believed the honor of one of the Hanks sisters to be involved, he lied like a gentleman. But for the most part Dennis was remarkably consistent, and his biographical notes are in the main reliable.

I have in my hand an autobiographical letter of his, furnished me by his grandson, J. D. Shoaff, of Paris, Illinois. In this letter Dennis has this to say of Lucy Hanks Sparrow:

"Abe was a very good Boy and an honest man. So was his father, Thomas Lincoln before him. His mother's mother Belong to the Baptist Church, a Christian Lady in every Respect."

* I refer to my "The Soul of Abraham Lincoln" published in 1920, by George H. Doran Company of New York, for discussion of the religion of the frontier.

It remains to say a word about Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow. They assumed the care of their unfortunate nephew, Dennis, and their niece Nancy. When the latter married Thomas Lincoln and moved to Nolin Creek, they were near her: and Elizabeth was almost certainly present when Abraham Lincoln was born. They followed her to Indiana, and were to her as parents. The neighbors who knew them in life and buried them when they died never doubted that Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow were in fact her father and mother.*

To that same neighborhood removed also Levi Hall and Nancy his wife. They arrived in time to be stricken with the same fatal malady that carried off Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her foster parents. They five all died within a few days of each other.

It is to Dennis Hanks we owe the evidence that enabled historians to mark the grave of the President's mother. He described the place of burial and said, that, while other graves were near at hand, these five were a little apart, and all in one group. It was found as he said, and the grave of Nancy Hanks was duly identified and appropriately marked.

Experienced grave diggers say that when a grave has been dug it is never possible to fill it in such a manner as to conceal the fact that it is a grave. In laying out the walks and improving the grounds it became necessary to dig away the surface soil, and the five graves are there. The five dead who sleep in that picturesque spot, now a State Park, are Levi and Nancy Hanks Hall; Thomas and Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow; and Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow had no children of their own. After their death, Dennis Hanks returned from Indiana to Kentucky and entered suit for their land, claiming to be their heir-at-law. His claim was settled out of court. After some years the Sparrow brothers, Henry, Peter and Dennis, and their sister Biddy, who then was married to her second husband Joseph Painter, entered suit, and in their affidavits testified that Thomas and Elizabeth never had any children of their own.

Providence left them childless that they might nourish as their own their nephew, Dennis, and their niece, Nancy. To their devoted care the world owes something of the character which Nancy Hanks transmitted to her son, Abraham Lincoln.

Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, who took and reared as their own daughter their little niece Nancy Hanks, who obtained for her a better education than they themselves possessed, and who followed her with affectionate and parental intent all her life, were faithful unto death.

* On this point see Herndon and also Nicolay and Hay.

PART III.

# Contributions to State History.

## THE HOUSE OF THE HOUSE DIVIDED.

ADDRESS BY MR. HENRY A. CONVERSE BEFORE THE LINCOLN CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATION, IN THE CIRCUIT COURT ROOM, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 12, 1924.

In comparison with the great nations of the world we are, in fact, historically young.

Our vast expanse of fertile soil, our boundless natural resources, our diversified climate, our religious freedom and our popular form of government have been the principal factors that have contributed to our phenomenal growth as a nation.

The energy, the commercial and inventive genius of our people have enabled us to forge ahead with such rapid strides that in the diplomatic and commercial world the United States is rated among the most powerful.

It is customary in what are considered the more refined and polite circles of the Old World to class us as *nouveau riche,* and we are not permitted to mingle with the elect upon actual terms of equality, largely because we are supposed to lack traditions.

The fact that we may be rich and powerful should cause us to take heed that we appear becomingly modest, but we are well within our rights when we take pride in the fact that from our soil, under the most humble and typically American conditions and surroundings, there has sprung one who has exercised the most humane influence for international good in the secular history of the world.

Not only is Abraham Lincoln the heritage of all of the American people, but he is peculiarly the heritage of the people of Springfield, Illinois.

His tomb is a shrine to which in each succeeding year come in increasing numbers from the corners of the earth, the great and the small, to bow in humble reverence in memory of this Man of the Ages.

While this shrine and its noble dead deserve the last full measure of our love and devotion, we should not forget that in the geographical and commercial center of our city is a veritable acre of diamonds. the scene of the activities of our great fellow citizen and his compatriots.

This parcel of ground, so long and familiarly known as the Court House Square, is the setting for a splendid, rugged old building that houses within its walls some of the very finest of our national traditions.

And how unmindful we have been of this rare possession.

To the owner of real estate the square marks the location of our choicest business property, with the highest rental values. To the merchant and tradesman, it is the center of our local trade and commercial activities.

This building is the place where we record instruments of conveyance, pay our taxes, probate the estates of our deceased, try our civil and criminal law suits, house our county officials, and hold public meetings, harmonious and otherwise.

Our use of the space surrounding this building is not such as to make us altogether proud.

Here we have had carnivals for the entertainment of the public, while those of us who were so favored as to have county officials as personal friends have had reserved seats in the windows where we could comfortably view the prowess of tight rope walkers, acrobats, jugglers, trained bears and so forth.

On other occasions we have gathered in great numbers to hear the announcements of the progress of the championship baseball contests; and again, during the dull, torrid summer days the unemployed have decorated the lawn as they lay prone upon the greensward, whiling away the hours in peaceful, sonorous slumber.

But thoughtless as we may have been, for more than half a century this building has stood, the very center of our civic activities, a grim and silent witness of a departed greatness.

If these walls could but echo back the tones that have found eternal lodgment therein, we would hear repeated to us today those matchless and prophetic words:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

And as we pass out of this room in reverent devotion we would be reminded of that event, fifty-nine years ago, when the friends and neighbors of Abraham Lincoln, in solemn procession, filed through this same room to gaze for the last time upon the familiar features of that gentle being, so cruelly and ruthlessly struck down by an assassin.

Possibly we should not too hastily condemn ourselves for that thoughtlessness, for it has been but mere thoughtlessness.

Possibly our conduct has been but natural, like that of children, who do not mean to be irreverent or disrespectful, but now it would seem to be the time for us to be grown up and to grasp the full, mature realization that this county building, the old state capitol, is the most historic building west of the Alleghanies, and one of the most historic in the United States; a building whose beautiful classical lines reflect the departed glory of ancient Greece.

The first settlement in this community was made by Elisha and John Kelly, natives of North Carolina, who located their homes here in the year 1818 at a point which is now Second and Jefferson streets. In 1821 Sangamon County was organized, this territory being many times its present size, and comprising a number of adjacent counties. The first county seat was located in the Kelly settlement, and the first court was held on April 10, 1821, in the house of John Kelly.

In 1824 the boundaries of Sangamon County were changed by the General Assembly, and commissioners were appointed to locate a permanent county seat, on condition that the parties on whose land the county seat was located should donate to the county thirty-five acres of land adjoining it.

This building is located in the Northwest Quarter of Section 34, Township 16 North, Range 5, west of the Third Principal Meridian. The land was entered from the United States Government by Pascal P. Enos on November 7, 1823; the north line being on what is now Washington street. The Southwest Quarter of Secton 27, lying immediately north, was entered from the United States by Elijah Iles on the same date.

When the commissioners selected this site, Pascal Enos and Elijah Iles, on March 18, 1825, deeded to the county a tract of land, including the present public square, commencing at a point which is now the northeast corner of Fifth and Monroe streets, thence north to Washington street, thence east to Sixth street, thence north to Madison street, thence east to the quarter section line between Eighth and Ninth streets, thence south to Monroe street, thence west to the place of beginning.

The county commissioners then proceeded to sell off the lots, except the public square, and it is interesting to note that the lots, eighty feet wide, on what is now the south side of the Square, sold for twenty to thirty-one dollars each.

A new court house was then built on the northeast corner of Sixth and Adams streets, which was used until 1831, when a new brick court house was built in the center of this Square. This building immediately preceded the present building, and is of particular interest to us because it was in this building that Judge Stephen T. Logan entered the record of the granting of a certificate of good moral character to Abraham Lincoln, as a preliminary to his admission to the bar.

Mr. Lincoln was licensed to practice on September 9, 1836, and his license was enrolled, as appears from the records of the clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court, on March 1, 1837.

In 1837 the State Capital was changed from Vandalia to Springfield, and this public square was conveyed by the county commissioners on March 11, 1837, to Governor Joseph Duncan.

The brick court house was then demolished and the present building erected on the same site, and was used as the state capitol building until the year 1876, when the State officials moved into the present State capitol.

The land was reconveyed to the County of Sangamon and the City of Springfield by Governor John M. Palmer, by deed dated October 23, 1869, for a consideration of $200,000, and the donation of a new site, the State to be permitted to occupy this building until the new capitol building was completed. This building since 1876 has been used continuously as the Sangamon County court house.

In the early nineties it was discovered that the building was inadequate for the business of the county, that the roof and dome were in a bad state of repair, and that the building needed fireproofing. After considerable agitation, and after considering many plans for remodeling, it was decided to raise the building by adding an additional lower story, and by putting on a new roof and dome. This work was commenced in 1899 and the new building was reopened on April 29, 1901.

Now, that there is an aroused interest in matters relating to Abraham Lincoln, there is some criticism because this building was raised and changed from the original design. An examination of the proceedings of the Board of Supervisors and newspaper accounts shows conclusively that the men who promoted the plans to raise the building had in mind the preservation of as much as possible of the old building, and that if that plan had not been adopted at that time the building would probably have been demolished and a new building erected, or its entire design changed, as there was a strong movement to enlarge the building by building additional wings to the east and west, and also considerable agitation for tearing down the building, selling off three-fourths of the Square ,and building a new county building on the remaining one-fourth.

The real historical interest in this building begins with the year 1834, when there was an agitation to move the seat of our State government from Vandalia. The population was rapidly spreading northward, and it was generally conceded that the State Capital should be nearer the center of the State.

On January 4, 1834, a meeting was held in the old court house, at which Daniel Stone presided, and delegates were selected from Sangamon County to attend a convention at Rushville, Illinois, to promote Springfield as the future State Capital. In this year Abraham Lincoln, a young man twenty-five years of age, was a member of the 9th General Assembly, which convened at Vandalia.

In August, 1834, an election was held throughout the State to get the popular sentiment upon the question of the location of the future State capital, and the cities of Springfield, Alton, Vandalia, Peoria and Jacksonville were all voted upon. Alton and Vandalia received larger votes than Springfield, but the vote was not considered decisive because a large number of the counties did not vote.

In the 10th General Assembly, which convened at Vandalia on December 5, 1836, Sangamon County had nine members, two Senators and seven Representatives. These men were called the "Long Nine" because their combined height was fifty-four feet. The "Long Nine" apparently devoted practically all their activities to securing the removal of the State capital to Springfield, and it is related that Mr. Lincoln, then twenty-eight years of age, was the leader of his delegation.

On February 25, 1837, the State Legislature passed an act providing that on the 28th of the month the two Houses should convene and select by ballot the seat for the permanent location of the new capital. On the 28th the two Houses convened, and on the fourth ballot Springfield was selected in preference to Jacksonville, Vandalia, Peoria, Alton and Illiopolis.

This act provided that the citizens of the new location should donate a building site of not less than two acres and also $50,000. It is generally understood that the "Long Nine" succeeding in landing the prize for Springfield by "log rolling," that is, by swapping votes with Representatives from other localities for local improvements desired by them, the County of Sangamon asking for no improvements, but contenting itself with securing the new seat of government.

The act was subject to repeal, and there was fear that it might be repealed at the second session of this same Legislature, which would reconvene on July 10, 1837.

We are apt to think of the "Long Nine" as patriarchs, so it is interesting to note something of the history of these men and their ages in 1837.

Archer G. Herndon, forty-one years old; born in Virginia, served eight years in the State Senate, was Receiver of the Land Office, and the father of William H. Herndon, the law partner of Mr. Lincoln.

Job Fletcher, forty-three years old; born in Virginia, served six years in the State Senate and one term in the House of Representatives,

Ninian W. Edwards, twenty-eight years old; born in Kentucky, served in the State Legislature sixteen years, member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1847, Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1857, appointed U. S. Commissary by President Lincoln in 1862.

John Dawson, forty-five years old; born in Virginia, served five terms in the Illinois Legislature, member of the Constitutional Convention in 1847.

Andrew McCormach, thirty-five years old; born in Tennessee, served three terms in the Legislature.

Daniel Stone, thirty-seven years old; born in Vermont, served one term in the General Assembly, and also as Circuit Judge, being assigned to the western part of the State, but was legislated out of office.

William F. Elkin, forty-four years old; born in Kentucky, served three terms in the Legislature, and as Register of the Land Office at Springfield from 1861 to 1872.

Robert L. Wilson, thirty-one years old; born in Pennsylvania, served one year in the General Assembly, five times as Circuit Judge, and eight years as Probate Judge, appointed as Paymaster by Abraham Lincoln, serving at Washington and St. Louis.

Abraham Lincoln, twenty-eight years old; born in Kentucky, served four years in the State Legislature, one term as Representative in Congress and twice elected to the Presidency of the United States.

As evidence that the selection of Springfield was satisfactory, to the extremes of the State at least, we find on March 4, 1837 the Chicago Advertiser said:

"We congratulate our friends at Springfield on the selection of that place as the future seat of government, a selection known as judicious from its central position and for the public spirit and enterprise of its inhabitants."

The Chicago Democrat said:

"Upon the fourth ballot Springfield, in Sangamon County, was selected as the future Capital of the State. No other town could have satisfied the greater portion of our citizens. It is rather south of the geographical center, but the salubrity of its climate and its facilities for accommodation will amply repay a little extra travelling."

The citizens of Chicago in that day thought well of "our facilities for accommodation," Springfield then being a village of about eleven hundred.

The Shawneetown Journal said:

"The Legislature has wisely settled the question of the seat of government, which is permanently located at Springfield, and not only from its central position but from its situation in the heart of the richest part of Illinois we apprehend that it will suit the entire approbation of the people of the State."

The selection of Springfield, however, did not suit all parts of the State. Vandalia, of course, was very much disappointed, as were the other places that had lost out, and many newspapers in various parts of the State criticized the selection.

In the same legislature of 1836-1837 was Stephen A. Douglas, then twenty-four years of age, who was the champion of Jacksonville, and the issues of the Sangamo Journal indicate that Mr. Douglas circulated reports that Springfield was a lawless community, given over to mob rule. However, we should not take these statements too seriously because when the members of the Legislature were returning home many of them stopped at Springfield, where they were given a banquet, at which both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas responded to toasts; Mr. Lincoln's toast being:

"All our friends—they are too numerous to mention now individually, while there is no one of them who is not too dear to be forgotten or neglected."

The toast of Mr. Douglas was:

"The last winter's legislation—may its results prove no less beneficial to the whole state than they have to our town."

Evidently anticipating the dangers of a possible repeal of the act fixing the new seat of government, our citizens got very busy and our county commissioners on March 11, 1837, deeded the public square to Governor Duncan.

The Commissioners chosen to build the State House were Dr. Anson G. Henry, Archibald Job and Thomas Houghan, the latter resigning, his place being taken by William Herndon. Dr. Henry was apparently the active Commissioner.

The old court home was promptly demolished, excavating was started, and building materials were gotten on the ground in the spring of 1837. On April 8, 1837, the Sangamo Journal published an advertisement, for plans for the new building, for the best one of which a premium of $300 would be given, and requested that three insertions be carried in the Illinois Republican, Missouri Republican, Louisville Journal, Louisville Public Advertiser, Cincinnati Gazette, Pittsburgh Gazette and the Harrisburg Intelligencer.

The moving of the State Capital to Springfield no doubt induced Mr. Lincoln to make Springfield his home, for we find a notice in the Sangamo Journal on April 12, 1837, that J. T. Stuart and Abraham Lincoln had formed a partnership for the practice of the law, with offices at No. 4 Hoffman's Row, upstairs. In the spring of 1837 Stephen A. Douglas also came to Springfield as Register of the Land Office, receiving his appointment from President VanBuren.

There were then two newspapers published in Springfield: the Illinois Republican, established in May, 1835, and the Sangamo Journal, established on the 10th day of November, 1831. These papers were bitterly opposed to each other politically. It is said that

Mr. Douglas wrote many articles for the Illinois Republican, and it was claimed that he was the author of a communication making an attack upon the conduct of Dr. Henry, the acting Commissioner, Dr. Henry being a contributor to the Sangamo Journal.

These articles in the Illinois Republican precipitated quite a riot, which culminated in an attack upon the offices of the Illinois Republican. It is related that Mr. Douglas was present and exhibit considerable physical prowess in ejecting the intruders.

A mass meeting of the citizens of Springfield was held on the 24th of June, 1837, at which meeting Major John T. Stuart presided. At this meeting Abraham Lincoln offered the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, As we have seen several publications in the Illinois Republican stating that Dr. A. G. Henry, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature to superintend the building of the State House, is squandering uselessly and wastefully the public money appropriated by the citizens of this place for that object; and, whereas, if the charge is true, it is highly important to the interests of the State that the trust now held by Dr. Henry should be immediately placed in other hands, therefore,

"Resolved, a committee of seven be appointed to examine the books and proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to superintend the building of the State House, and that said committee make a full and complete report of such proceedings, together with such remarks upon the facts disclosed as their acquaintance with such business may enable them to make, that may go to show whether the Commissioners are or are not progressing with the work in the most economical and judicious manner, and that said report be published in the newspapers of this place."

The resolution was adopted and the committee was appointed.

The report of the committee set forth in detail the bids that had been made for rock and for three hundred thousand brick. The bids for the brick were considered too high, and the commission made a private contract at a lesser price for the three hundred thousand building brick, and also for one hundred thousand choice front brick. Detailed bids were also shown for sand, and for the taking down of the old court house, the principal source of scandal having grown out of the fact that it was charged that an exorbitant price had been paid, to-wit, $700, for demolishing the old building.

The most interesting part of this report, however, is that an award of $300 for the best plans for the State House was awarded to J. F. Rague of Springfield, and to Mr. Singleton of St. Louis; $200 to Mr. Rague and $100 to Mr. Singleton.

The lines of this building before it was raised have been greatly admired and it has been pronounced by eminent architects as one of the finest examples of Grecian architecture in this country. Many people have often asked who was the architect, and now that we have found his name we know but little more. He was a resident of Springfield and was President of the Mechanics Institute, a school located on the east side of Third Street, between Washington and Adams Streets.

During the course of the building the Commissioners retained Mr. Rague as supervising architect at a salary of $1,000 a year.

We have learned from the Sangamon County Abstract Company that its records show that John F. Rague and wife, Eliza M. Rague, transferred several pieces of property between the years 1836 and 1844. In 1844 Mr. Rague was a party defendant to a mortgage foreclosure, and it may be that that was the end of his business activities. We further find that Eliza M. Rague in 1853 bought a lot in Hutchinson's Cemetery. From this we assume she was a widow and probably purchased the lot for the purpose of burying her husband. In the year 1836 John F. Rague was one of the trustees of the town of Springfield. He left no estate and no heirs that can be located. It seems remarkable that this village of eleven hundred could at that time produce an architect who could plan such a beautiful building.

The committee on investigation unanimously reported that the building commissioners:

"have evinced much skill and judgment in all their plans, great energy and activity in prosecuting them, and have observed more than ordinary care, system and accuracy in their records, books, accounts and papers, and are richly entitled to the thanks and gratitude of their fellow-citizens."

The corner stone was laid on July 4, 1837, and the proceedings, as reported in the Journal of July 8, 1837, were imposing.

The articles deposited in the corner stone were: a list of the general officers of the State government, a copy of the law locating the seat of government at Springfield, a copy of the Journals of the last session of the General Assembly, several species of American coins, comprising some of the late issues from the mint and also some of the year 1795, the name of the architect of the building, with those of the commissioners.

A large concourse of people was present. Major E. D. Baker ascended the corner stone and gave a short and animated address. Articles in the press make reference to the fact that at the coming session of the Legislature an attempt would be made to repeal the act selecting Springfield as the location. Daniel Stone, having resigned as a member of the House, Mr. E. D. Baker, who had delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone, was selected to fill his place. Mr. Baker, having taken his place among the "Long Nine," it is proper that we should give some consideration to this romantic character, who is so aptly referred to as a "Knight Errant."

He was born in London, England, February 24, 1811, and came to Springfield in 1835. At the time he delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone he was twenty-six years old. He served two terms in the Legislature, and two terms in the House of Representatives in Congress, his second term in Congress being from Galena, Illinois, to which point he had moved after serving in the Mexican War. In 1852 he moved to California. He had early achieved a very extensive reputation for the brilliancy of his eloquence. While in California he delivered the funeral oration over Senator Broderick, who had been killed in a duel by Judge Terry. This funeral oration is often referred

to as the most eloquent funeral oration ever delivered on the continent of America.

Duelling had been considered the proper way for gentlemen to settle a dispute, and many fine characters had been sacrificed on this so-called field of honor. This funeral oration so aroused public sentiment that the practice of duelling received almost instantaneous and unanimous condemnation, and went out of existence as an American institution.

Mr. Baker then moved to Oregon, from which state he was elected to the United States Senate, where he promptly received recognition for his eloquence. His address in the Senate, in reply to Judah P. Benjamin, was considered one of the most eloquent of the times. Upon declaration of war he organized and became Colonel of a regiment from the Pacific Coast. He was killed at the battle of Balls Bluff, October 21, 1861.

At the second session of the Legislature an attempt was made to repeal the act fixing Springfield as the state capital, but largely through the efforts of Messrs. Lincoln and Baker the proposed repeal was defeated.

As previously stated, the work of erecting the new State Capitol was started as promptly as possible in the spring of 1837, and it was some time in the early fifties before the project was finally completed. In addition to what can be found in the newspapers of the times, and interviews with descendants of those who worked on the building, we find the following acts of the Legislature making appropriations, which give us some idea of the progress of the work: Act, approved February 25, 1837, appropriating the first $50,000. Act of March 3, 1837, appointing the three Commissioners and fixing their compensation at $3.00 per day. Act approved January 12, 1839, appropriates $128,300 to finish the building. Act approved June 29, 1839, appropriates $30,000 to pay bills already accrued for the building of the State House, and which forbids the Commissioners to incur any more indebtedness without legislative authority. Act of February 26, 1841, directs the Secretary of State and State Treasurer to take charge of the State House grounds and to complete the building; also appropriates $7,000 to complete the building under the superintendence of the Secretary of State and State Treasurer. This act also directs the State Treasurer to take possession of all materials on the grounds, and requires any person having possession of any said materials to surrender them up, and in case of failure to do so makes them guilty of a high misdemeanor, and subject to a fine of $1,000, and imprisonment in jail for six months; also authorizes the Auditor, State Treasurer and Secretary of State to examine the accounts and vouchers of the Commissioners, with authority to call witnesses, place them under oath, and makes any person swearing falsely guilty of perjury. This act also repeals the act appointing the Commissioners.

Act of January 24, 1843, appropriates $600 for repairing the roof. Act of March 4, 1843, appropriates $2,000 to finish the House of Representatives, and $400 for additional repairs to the roof. Act of January 3, 1845, appropriates various sums to about a dozen men and women, from $1.25 to $65.31 each, for services in fitting up the two

halls of the General Assembly. Act of February 16, 1847, appropriates $20,000 to complete the State House, and directs the Governor, Auditor and State Treasurer to enclose the same with a good substantial plank fence. Act of February 12, 1849, appropriates $7,000 to complete the State House. Act approved February 7, 1851, appropriates $11,000 to complete the State House.

Evidently the Commissioners were subjected to considerable criticism, as they were discharged by the act of February 26, 1841. On January 22, 1840, Commissioners A. G. Henry and William Herndon, in response to a resolution of the House of Representatives, filed a report showing that their total expenditures were $151,957.37, and estimating that it would take $37,000 to complete the building. They also reported that they had spent $620 for additional offices to temporarily house the State officers, and that if the Legislature did not wish to allow that they would pay the expense out of their own pockets. In the House Reports of the 13th General Assembly appears a communication dated January 22, 1843, from Commissioner A. G. Henry, addressed to the House of Representatives, asking for a full audit of his accounts and complaining that he had been placed in the light of being a defaulter. This matter was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Public Grounds, which committee on February 25, 1843, filed a very lengthy report, the substance of which was to relieve Mr. Henry from the charges that had been made against him, but criticizing his bookkeeping and failure to keep proper vouchers and receipts.

In 1839 the offices of the State government were moved from Vandalia to Springfield, the movable property of the State being transported by wagon overland, as there were no railroads. The Senate occupied the First Methodist Church, on the southeast corner of Fifth and Monroe Streets; the House of Representatives used the old Second Presbyterian Church, on the west side of Fourth and just north of Monroe Street, and the Supreme Court sat in the Episcopal Church, between Third and Fourth, on the south side of Adams Street.

Evidently it was the original intention to build the Capitol out of brick, upon a stone foundation. In the issue of the Sangamo Journal of December 30, 1837, we find the statement that the outdoor work on the building had come to a close for the season, and that the foundation, with the exception of a portion of the south wall, had been completed; also that the joists for the first floor were laid, and that the walls were covered to prevent injury from the weather. This article also recites that everybody agrees that the building should be built of cut stone, the material for which, of the finest character, is found in the immediate neighborhood.

The Shawneetown Voice, in its issue of February 24, 1838, states that the plans had been changed, to substitute stone for brick, and that this will increase the cost, but that it presumes that since Springfield is to be the permanent seat, and that Illinois is entitled to a fine building, the people and the Legislature will be indulgent if the work is not done extravagantly.

On December 1, 1837, the Commissioners, A. Job and A. G. Henry, entered into a contract with LeRoy L. Hill to secure the

necessary stone for the building, from 1837 to 1841, from his farm on Sugar Creek, at one dollar per load. This contract is recorded in Book O, at page 319, in the office of the County Recorder of Sangamon County.

On February 2nd of this year the writer, together with Mr. Alva Shepherd, visited the old farm of Mr. Leroy Hill. Living on this farm we found Mrs. Alice J. Shoup, the widow of Samuel Shoup, formerly a sheriff of this County, and a Colonel in the Civil War. Mrs. Shoup, now eighty-seven years of age, spent her early girlhood in the City of Springfield, and remembers the building operations, particularly the putting up of the columns and porticoes, in the years 1847, 1848 and 1849. We learned from Mrs. Shoup, and also from Mr. Samuel Stout, who was born and raised in the immediate neighborhood, that the stone for the building was quarried on the Hill farm and the Philemon Stout farm, which immediately joins on the west.

The stone was hauled to Springfield, a distance of seven or eight miles, on wagons pulled by ten to twelve yoke of oxen. The old crane used in raising the large stone for the columns stood on the Stout farm, and Mr. Stout as a child played on it a great many times. The roads at times were very bad, as the prairie was often very wet and swampy, and for many years large blocks of stone could be seen along the road where they had been dumped from the wagon, and could not be replaced because of lack of machinery. These stones have long since been removed, except three large, round stones, which may still be seen on the west side of the road near the south end of the bridge across Sugar Creek, where Crow's mill used to stand.

After the close of the working season in 1837 there was a great deal of scurrying around in Springfield to make good the original terms on which the State Capital was to be moved. The original act appropriated $50,000 on condition that the citizens of Springfield would reimburse the State in an equal amount. One-third of the money was put up by the City of Springfield, and one-third by the citizens out in the County, but the payment of the final third seemed like an impossibility, as a panic had struck the country.

The final payment, however, was settled by 101 citizens signing a note for $16,666.67, dated March 22, 1838, payable to the president, directors and company of the State Bank of Illinois. This original note was kept on display for many years at the Ridgely National Bank. The signers were the founders of many of the leading families of this city.

It seems unfair to call particular attention at this time to any select group of signers so therefore we will refer to only A. Lincoln, E. D. Baker and John F. Rague, the architect of the building. The note was paid February 19, 1846, the principal and interest at that time amounting to $17,918.

The work of erecting the building was not let to a general contractor, but was let out in separate contracts, superintended by the architect.

Interviews with some of the descendants of those who worked on this building here developed much of interest. Miss Jeannette Smith, and her sister, Mrs. N. W. Edwards, living at 1028 East Monroe

Street, state that their grandfather, William Harrower, a Scotchman, and his partner, a man by the name of Duncan, were in business as stone cutters at the foot of 13th Street, New York City. Mr. Harrower was invited to come here to do the stone work, and came in the year 1837. He returned to New York City, where he married, and for a wedding trip took his wife by boat to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, and thence to Springfield by stage, arriving here in the fall of 1838.

He established a stone cutting yard at the corner of Sixth and Monroe Streets, where the Post Office now stands, and built himself a house at 11th and Monroe Streets. He evidently brought with him a number of stone cutters as there certainly could not have been many skilled workman of that kind in a village of eleven hundred, where there were no stone buildings; and Mrs. Harrower was put to a great deal of inconvenience trying to house as many as possible of the stone cutters.

Among the old papers left by Mr. Harrower are several time sheets, showing the employment of stone cutters at the rate of $1.75 and $2.00 per day, dated in 1847-49. These times sheets evidently represent the work on the pillars and porticoes, and no record can be found of the stone work in previous years, although the descendants of Mr. Harrower are satisfied that the original stone work was done under his supervision.

Mrs. Alice J. Shoup, previously referred to, was the daughter of William Mourer, who, with his partner, Benjamin Ferguson, worked as carpenters on this building. Mrs. Shoup recalls that William Harrower came to her father's house a number of times to consider plans, and she understood that Mr. Harrower was doing the stone work on the State House. Mrs. Shoup also relates that after the building was completed and the flag pole in place, it was found that the pole was too high, and that her father climbed to the top and cut off a portion of it, while she and her mother watched him with considerable trepidation. Mrs. Shoup also relates that she attended a number of social functions held in the rotunda of the State House, and that she danced there a great many times.

Mr. James S. Sutton, of 1133 South Second Street, states that his father James C. Sutton, and his uncle, Goyn A. Sutton, in the year 1842 took the contract to make the doors and the floors and the pillars for the balconies in the legislative halls. These pillars were made of walnut, and were fluted. The doors were made of walnut and oak, and the floors of oak. The timber was cut in Sangamon County and hewed out by hand. Mr. Sutton still has some of the tools used in doing this work.

Mr. William Helmle, father of George H. Helmle, carved the capitals on the pillars in the House of Representatives. His work was most artistic and delicate, and was greatly admired.

Mr. Charles Dallman, together with a Mr. Graham, took the contract for building the stairway in the rotunda. Mr. Dallman was the father of Vincent Y. Dallman, the editor of the Illinois State Register. This work was done about 1851 and was probably a rebuilding of the first stairway. Mr. Dallman was a skilled workman

and took great pride in the finished job, as it was all hand work and represented the very best of his skill. These stairs were always much admired, and are remembered by many of our citizens.

Mr. J. Lin Roll of 825 South Henrietta Street, furnishes some very interesting information about his father, John E. Roll.

The books left by John E. Roll show that he, together with Isaac Smith and George Leggott had the contract for plastering the old State House. Among the papers is a memorandum in the handwriting of John E. Roll as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of State House Job | $ | 3,406.22 |
| Amount of expense | | 1,096.09 |
| | 2 | 2,310.13 |
| Net proceeds after taking out Leggotts Share | $ | 1,155.06 |
| Rolls Share | | 577.53 |

John E. Roll was born June 9, 1814 in Greenvillage, N. J. He came to Sangamon County in 1830, travelling overland to Pittsburgh thence by boat to St. Louis. From St. Louis he came overland to Springfield and then to Sangamo town on the Sangamon River Northwest of Springfield.

Near Sangamo Town was Roll's ford named after his cousin Pierson Roll.

While living at Sangamo Town John E. Roll helped Abraham Lincoln build his famous flat boat.

He moved to Springfield and was apprenticed to learn the trade of plastering. In 1839 he married Harriett Van Dyke the sister of Eliza M. Rague the wife of John F. Rague, the architect of this building.

Mr. J. Lin Roll states that he heard his father say many times that his brother in law John F. Rague was the architect of this building and that he superintended its construction.

Among the papers left by John E. Roll is a Sheriff's deed dated April 24th, 1845 which recites that it is given pursuant to a judgment secured in the Circuit Court of Sangamon County by John E. Roll against John F. Rague at the March Term 1842 for $157.03.

John E. Roll kept a very complete set of books which discloses that he did work for many of the old, prominent families of this city. Several jobs of work were charged to Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. James M. Garland, present at this meeting, was born on the south side of the public square in 1835, where Thoma & Son now have their dry goods establishment. Mr. Garland recalls the building of the State House, and relates how, when he was a small boy, his father led him around the top of the stone foundation of the building, which had then been laid and was evidently awaiting the development of the plans as to whether or not the work would be continued with stone or brick. Mr. Garland also recalls the fact that Mr. J. F. Rague was well known in Springfield at the time, and also recalls the Mechanics Institute, at which place he went to school when he was about eight or nine years old, the teacher being Mr. Francis Springer.

It is difficult to settle definitely the question as to when the building was first occupied. The newspapers have been searched and

the question has been asked why the local press did not give better accounts of local events. One of our prominent citizens probably gives the best answer by saying, "That there was no need to publish very much of the local happenings when everybody in the community knew what was going on." The probabilities are, owing to the smallness of the community and that fact that everybody watched the progress of this building, the various steps in the building program were not matters of any particular news interest. It is also probable that the offices of the State officers were ready for occupancy before the two Houses of the Legislature.

The first definite information we can get of the use of the building is found in the Sangamo Journal of December 4, 1840, which states:

"The Speaker laid before the House a communication from the Acting State House Commissioners, informing the House that their hall in the State House would be ready for their reception on next Monday."

In the Sangamo Journal of December 11, 1840, appears the following:

"At eleven o'clock the members of the Senate assembled in the chamber of the Senate in the State House at Springfield."

In the Illinois State Register, under date of December 18, 1840, appears a resolution adopted by the House:

"Granting to the Educational Convention now meeting in this City the use of the hall of the House of Representatives."

As further evidence that the House of Representatives met in this room in 1840 and 1841 is the statement of Gen. John J. McClernand, made in an address delivered in this room in 1876, when the Circuit Court held its first session here, in which he stated that he sat in this room as a member of the House of Representatives together with Abraham Lincoln. The 12th General Assembly was the last session of the Legislature in which Gen. McClernand and Mr. Lincoln sat, and its second session began in Springfield on December 7, 1840, and adjourned on March 1, 1841. It seems to be pretty well settled, therefore, that Mr. Lincoln served as a member of the Illinois General Assembly in this identical room.

The writer is indebted to Mr. George M. Brinkerhoff of this city for a description of the arrangement of the rooms. Mr. Brinkerhoff was a clerk in the State Auditor's office from 1860 until 1876. The arrangement of the rooms was identical at that time with the original plan, as the architects who supervised the remodeling in 1899 report that the interior walls had never been disturbed.

The original building was two stories high, the present second story being the original first story, with a north and south entrance. There was no east or west entrance. A rotunda extended from the north to the south doors, in the center of which was the stairway which ascended from the north and the south to a height of about ten feet, to a platform, and thence branched east and west from this platform to the second floor. This rotunda was used repeatedly for public gatherings, the speaker standing on the platform and being able to address the crowd that gathered in the rotunda, and also on the second

floor around the railing, which was circular in form. This rotunda was also used for social gatherings, church fairs, revival meetings, and the like.

Upon entering the south door on the first floor, the first room on the left, in the southwest corner, was that of the State Auditor, below which office was a basement room, reached by an interior stairway, which was used in the sixties to house the State Banking Department, and where the old "stump-tail" currency was destroyed when the state banks liquidated. The space occupied by the Auditor's office is now used by the Sangamon County Probate Court.

In the northwest corner of the first floor was the office of the Secretary of State, and between that office and the office of the Auditor, was a narrow room, which was the State Library. The space occupied by the Secretary of State and the State Library is now occupied by the County Superintendent of Schools and the filing room of the Probate Clerk.

In the southeast corner of the first floor was the office of the State Treasurer, which had large vaults running from the basement up through the office to the ceiling. The space occupied by the State Treasurer is now occupied by the County Clerk.

In the northeast corner of the first floor were the rooms of the Supreme Court, the Clerk of the Supreme Court, the Court Reporter and the State Law Library. Between the rooms of the Supreme Court and the State Treasurer was a hallway running from the east side of the rotunda to the east wall of the building, from which hallway a stairway went down to the basement.

Some interest has been evinced as to the origin of the State Library and the State Law Library. By an act approved February 22, 1839, just before the State officers moved to Springfield, $5,000 was appropriated for a law and miscellaneous library, and the Justices of the Supreme Court and the Governor were directed to select books and arrange for their safe keeping. By an act approved December 15, 1843, the miscellaneous books were separated from the law books and placed in the custody of the Secretary of State, who was made State Librarian, and the law books were placed in the custody of the Clerk of the Supreme Court.

In the present State Law Library is an original document, addressed to the Legislature in 1861, asking it to make more commodious arrangements for the Supreme Court and the State Auditor. This communication is signed by Supreme Court Justices Caton, Walker and Breese; by Auditor Dubois, Secretary of State Hatch, State Treasurer Butler, Superintendent of Public Instruction Bateman, Clerk Turney, and A. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln at that time had been elected to the Presidency, and the story is that he happened to be in the Clerk's office and at the request of the Clerk he attached his signature.

The entire west side of the second floor was used by the House of Representatives. This room had a balcony, supported by a semi-circle of columns. This room is now occupied by the Circuit Court of Sangamon County, and is the room in which we are holding this meeting.

In the center of the north and south sides of the second floor, and immediately above the rotunda, were committee rooms, one of which in the south end was occupied by the Secretary of the Fund Commission, his office have relations to the various bond issues for internal improvements.

The Senate Chamber was in the northeast corner of the second floor, and occupied practically the north half of the east side of the building. This room also had a small balcony. On the south side were committee rooms, one of which was at times used by the Lieutenant Governor, and as a Post Office. The space occupied by the Senate is now used by the County Court.

Immediately south of the rooms of the Senate was a narrow hall extending from the east side of the rotunda and going eastwardly until it entered the Governor's office, which was a narrow room extending north and south, in the southeast corner of the building. The room occupied by the Governor is now used by the Master in Chancery.

Immediately west of the Governor's office, and entered by doors both from the small hall last mentioned and from the Governor's office, was a small room occupied by the Superintendent of Public Instruction; and immediately west of this room, entered by a door from the small hall, was a room which during the war was occupied by the Adjutant General. These last two rooms are now occupied and used by the Master in Chancery and the Court Reporter.

In 1854 the General Assembly appropriated $20,000 for enclosing and embellishing the grounds about the building:

"To correspond and be equal to the court house square in the City of Chicago."

This was probably the origin of the iron fence that so long surrounded the capital grounds. Its gates were kept securely locked at night.

In this room, in joint session of the two Houses of the Legislature, have been elected the following United States Senators: Sidney Breese, 1843-1849; Stephen A. Douglas, 1847-1853; James Shields, 1849-1855; Stephen A. Douglas, 1853-1859; Lyman Trumbull, 1855-1861; Stephen A. Douglas, 1859-1861; Lyman Trumbull, 1861-1867; William A. Richardson, 1867-1873; John A. Logan, 1871-1877; Richard J. Oglesby, 1873-1879.

Here Stephen A. Douglas was thrice elected, receiving his first election at the age of thirty-four; and here Lyman Trumbull also was thrice elected.

In this building have also served the following Governors: Thomas Carlin, Thomas Ford, Augustus C. French, Joel A. Matteson, William H. Bissell, John Wood, Richard Yates, Richard J. Oglesby, John M. Palmer and John L. Beveridge.

In this building were held the sessions of the Supreme Court. From the list of Justices we have selected only those who have served more than one term, with the exception of Stephen A. Douglas, who became a Justice in 1841 at the age of twenty-eight, and served until 1843. This list of Justices includes the following: Samuel H. Treat, two terms; Sidney Breese, four terms; John D. Caton, five terms; James Shields, two terms; Jesse B. Thomas, three terms; Lyman

Trumbull, two terms; Pinkney H. Walker, four terms; John M. Scott, two terms; Benjamin R. Sheldon, two terms; John Scholfield, three terms; Alfred M. Craig, three terms. Three of these Supreme Court Justices were elected in this room to the United States Senate: Justice Breese, leaving the bench in 1843, going to the United States Senate, and returning to the bench in 1857, and serving until 1878, when he died.

In this building the following Secretaries of State served: Stephen A. Douglas, Lyman Trumbull, Thomas Campbell, Horace S. Cooley, David L. Gregg, Alexander Starne, Ozias M. Hatch, Sharon Tyndale, Edward Rummel, George H. Harlow.

In this building served the following State Treasurers: John D. Whiteside, Milton Carpenter, John Moore, James Miller, William Butler, Alexander Starne, James H. Beveridge, George W. Smith, Erastus N. Bates, Edward Rutz.

In the building served the following Auditors of Public Accounts: James Shields, Thomas H. Campbell, Jesse K. Dubois, Orin H. Miner, Charles E. Lippincott.

In this building served the following Superintendents of Public Instruction: Ninian W. Edwards, William H. Powell, Newton Bateman and John P. Brooks.

In this building was also held the Constitutional Convention which convened on August 31, 1847, and adopted the Constitution ratified by popular vote on March 6, 1868. To this convention Sangamon County sent two of its "Long Nine", John Dawson and Ninian W. Edwards, together with James H. Matheny and Stephen T. Logan.

One of the interesting stories in connection with the Constitutional Convention of 1847 relates to the fixing of the pay of the State Officers and members of the Legislature. The question under discussion was the cost of living in the City of Springfield. A statement was made that Ninian W. Edwards lived in the finest of style, with a large number of servants and entertained very lavishly, and that his household expenses were at the rate of $1,500 a year. Mr. Edwards confirmed this statement, and the salaries were fixed as follows: Governor of the State, $1,500 per annum; Secretary of State, $800 per annum; Auditor of Public Accounts, $1,000 per annum; State Treasurer, $800 per annum. The members of the General Assembly were allowed $2.00 per day for the first forty-two days' attendance, and $1.00 per day for each day's attendance thereafter, and ten cents for each necessary mile's travel going to and returning from the seat of government. The Speaker of the House was allowed the sum of $1.00 per day in addition to his per diem as a member.

The story goes that the members of the Legislature, in order to prolong their stay and pay their expenses, resorted to many devices, such as figuring their mileage by various circuitous routes, and voting themselves supplies, such as many issues of newspapers, pocket knives, and so forth, the orders for which they are said to have cashed instead of getting the supplies. This practice created such a scandal that when the Constitution of 1870 was adopted very stringent provisions were made to prevent the occurrence of such acts.

In this building was also held the Constitutional Convention of 1862, but the Constitution adopted was rejected by the people at an election held in June, 1862. In this Convention Sangamon County was represented by Benjamin S. Edwards and James D. Smith.

In this building was also held the Constitutional Convention which met on December 13, 1869, and adopted the Constitution which was ratified by the people on July 2, 1870, and which, with its amendments, is our present Constitution. In this Constitutional Convention Sangamon County was represented by Milton Hay and Samuel C. Parks.

Mr. Lincoln, having become a resident of Springfield in 1837, was, of course, one of the regular frequenters of this building. In addition to serving in the Legislature, he appeared and argued cases before the Supreme Court, made frequent use of both the State Library and the Supreme Court Law Library, and interested as he was, in politics, must have mingled repeatedly with the members of the Legislature and been closely associated with the various State Officers, many of whom were his intimate friends.

Mr. Lincoln was elected to the 30th Congress as a member of the Lower House, 1847-1849. He then returned to Springfield, fully determined to keep out of politics and devote himself to the practice of the law. In this he succeeded until 1854, when the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise" by the enactment of what was known as the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," revived the slavery agitation, this question having been somewhat at rest since the passage of the "Missouri Compromise" Act in 1820. The "Missouri Compromise" was fathered by Henry Clay, and provided that after the admission of Missouri, slavery in the future should not be extended in the Territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of the parallel of latitude 36°30′. It was generally hoped that this compromise would settle the question. The Mexican War, however, added extensive territory to the southwest portion of the United States, and the gold rush of 1848-1849 made it evident that all of the United States west of the Mississippi River would soon be opened up and create vast territory for new states.

In 1850 Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, who were then old men, brought about the passage of what was known as the "Compromise of 1850." These acts related principally to the territory secured from Mexico and were not intended to repeal the original "Missouri Compromise."

In May, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas. By this legislation the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820 was specifically repealed, and provision was made that the question as to whether or not these Territories should be slave or free should be left to a vote of the people in the Territories. This action disrupted the principal political parties and began to solidify sentiment throughout the country, and divided the people into two principal classes; those who favored the extension of slavery, and those who favored its restriction.

The South was determined to maintain slavery as an institution and was insistent upon the extension of slavery because all the territory in the South had already been cut up into States. Each State

would send two Senators to the United States Senate, together with the delegations in the House of Representatives. The South feared that it would lose control of the National Congress. This made the South desire the extension of slavery into the new states.

It was the attempt to hold elections in these territories under the "popular sovereignty" doctrine that caused a great influx of persons who endeavored to control the elections, and resulted in many pitched battles and caused much loss of life.

Mr. Douglas was ambitious to be President of the United States. He wanted the support of the South, and apparently his action was designed to keep the South in line and at the same time satisfy his friends in the North.

It was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bills that caused Mr. Lincoln to again become active in politics. There was a feeling that the anti-Nebraska people could control the State Legislature of Illinois, and accordingly Mr. Lincoln and Stephen T. Logan became candidates for the House of Representatives on the anti-Nebraska ticket, and were elected in the fall of 1854. A canvass of the Legislature indicated that the anti-Nebraska men could control the Legislature on joint ballot for the election of the United States Senator, and Mr. Lincoln, believing that he could be elected, resigned his seat in the House of Representatives, and was succeeded by Jonathan McDaniel. Mr. Lincoln then became an active candidate for the Senate, to become the colleague of Stephen A. Douglas, in the place of James Shields, whose term would expire on March 4, 1855.

When the joint General Assembly met in this room to ballot a number of the Democrats, although they were anti-Nebraska, could not bring themselves to vote for a Whig, to which party Mr. Lincoln belonged, and accordingly five of them brought forward Lyman Trumbull and caused a deadlock. This continued for eight ballots and Mr. Lincoln, becoming fearful that a colorless individual would be elected as a compromise, advised his friends to vote for Lyman Trumbull, and Mr. Trumbull, on the ninth ballot, was elected. Mr. Lincoln thus sacrificed himself to send to the United States Senate as a colleague of Stephen A. Douglas an out and out anti-Nebraska man, a capable and brilliant lawyer, who had held State elective office and who had served upon our State Supreme Court bench.

Preliminary to the election of Mr. Lincoln to the State Legislature in 1854 some very thrilling and dramatic events took place in this State. After the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise" in May, 1854, Mr. Douglas hurried back to Illinois to fix up his fences and participate in the election of his new colleague. He came to Chicago where he delivered an address, defending his position, but his audience so disturbed his meeting that he left the platform in disgust. He then came down to Springfield and arranged to make a public address at the State Fair, but the weather was so inclement that the meeting was held in this room. On this occasion Mr. Douglas stated that he understood that Mr. Lincoln would probably reply to him, and that he hoped he was present in the audience to hear what he had to say. Mr. Lincoln was not present at the time but came in later.

Mr. Douglas then in his forceful manner discussed the "Missouri Compromise," the "Compromises of 1850," and expounded his theory of "popular sovereignty," as embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bills, passed in the month of May previous. The following day Mr. Lincoln replied in this room, Mr. Douglas being present. Mr. Lincoln was in a happy frame of mind, and spoke for four hours, and gave evidence of having devoted a great deal of thought to the great questions of the day. At various times during his speech Mr. Douglas interrupted him in a perfectly friendly fashion, and they argued back and forth. After Mr. Lincoln had concluded Mr. Douglas replied for two hours, but their addresses were not preserved.

Two weeks later Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas met in debate in Peoria, and upon his return from Peoria Mr. Lincoln reduced his speech to writing, stating that it was in substance the same as the one which he had previously delivered here. The meeting of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas in this room was the beginning of the making of an issue that was tried out in the debates of 1858, and which finally resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860.

Every lawyer knows that the foundation of a law suit is the making of the correct issue, and the skillful lawyer is the one who before the trial can make up the proper issue. In this court room issues have been made for the trial of the rights of person and of property, and in this very room the issues that resulted in the greatest trial in the history of our nation were just as truly made up. It was here that Mr. Douglas defined his position, and it was here that Mr. Lincoln in listening to him, and in replying to him, began to shape the pleadings which finally resulted in a definite issue.

For many years the problems had been met by compromises, but Mr. Lincoln saw that the day for compromising was passing and that the questions must be definitely settled, and it was his wisdom and foresight that so shaped the issues that the trial might be had upon the correct issue, and that the verdict might be final.

Mr. Lincoln then busied himself with the organization of the Republican Party, which was formed in Bloomington in 1856, and sent delegates to the National Convention at Philadelphia. Mr. Lincoln had become so prominent that he barely escaped being nominated as Vice President by the Philadelphia Convention. The election of 1856 made James Buchanan President, and a few days after his inauguration the famous Dred Scott decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court. This decision stripped "popular sovereignty" from application to any United States Territory.

In June, 1857, Senator Douglas came to Springfield and delivered an address in this room, discussing the subjects previously presented by him in 1854, and in addition, taking up the Dred Scott decision. In this address he fore-shadowed the position which he would be compelled to take in his Freeport debate with Mr. Lincoln in 1858.

In its issue of June 15, 1857, the Illinois State Register states that the Representatives' Hall was a perfect jamb, that a very large number of ladies were present, and that —

"We were pleased to see in attendance Col. W. H. Herndon, the Hon. A. Lincoln, the Hon. S. M. Cullom, and many other prominent men of the Republican Party."

Mr. Lincoln gave his very best thought to the arguments put forth by Senator Douglas, and on June 26th following delivered a carefully prepared address, answering Mr. Douglas in detail. Here again we see the additional act in the drama, all going toward making up the issue, in this very room. The address of Mr. Lincoln attracted attention throughout the country, and it became generally recognized that he would become the logical candidate to succeed Senator Douglas when his term should expire on March 4, 1859.

The Republican State Convention met in this room on June 16, 1858. It commended United States Senator Lyman Trumbull as an exponent of Republican principles, and resolved that:

"Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas."

In the evening Mr. Lincoln delivered in this room his famous "House divided against itself" speech.

Very shortly after the commencement of his address he said:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect that it will cease to be divided."

This expresses the very essence of the philosophy of Mr. Lincoln. He had an abiding faith that the question of slavery would be ultimately settled, and settled right, and he also had an abiding faith that the Union would be saved. It cannot be said that Mr. Lincoln knew exactly how this was going to be brought about. He did not believe that the matter could be settled by compromise, but he did believe that there was some issue that could be joined that would bring about a final verdict, and that this verdict would be the correct one. He believed that this great question could be settled in a constitutional manner. He respected the rights of property and was not in favor of invading any of the constitutional rights of the South, but he was unalterably opposed to the further extension of slavery, and upon this he was unyielding.

It may be that he believed that slavery would be ultimately wiped out by the force of economic law and that it would yield to a public sentiment that had been gradually crystalizing for many years. He believed the Union was the highest type of Government of the people, by the people and for the people and as such it must be saved.

The "House divided against itself" speech is considered by many as the greatest speech ever delivered by Mr. Lincoln. It certainly was masterly in construction and delivery, and at the time attracted national attention. It was the product of the most mature deliberation and was the pleading that presented the ultimate fact to be tried out before the jury of the people during the coming debates.

The fact that this great address was delivered in this building is enough to make this edifice historically famous.

Then followed the challenge of Mr. Lincoln to Senator Douglas for the famous joint debates which were held throughout the State during the balance of the year 1858. These debates were the public trial of the cause upon the issues that had been made up in this room.

It was at the debate in Freeport that Mr. Lincoln propounded his famous question:

"Can the people of an United States Territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

Mr. Lincoln had been advised not to ask this question but to such advice he responded that while the answer of Mr. Douglas would probably elect Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate, it would defeat him for the Presidency. Mr. Lincoln was right, for the answer of Mr. Douglas satisfied his friends in Illinois, but alienated from him his party in the South.

Mr. Lincoln in turn, however, while losing the election to the United States Senate, was made the candidate of his party for the Presidency in 1860, in which year, as you all know, he was elected.

After Mr. Lincoln was nominated Springfield became the headquarters of the campaign, and many of the most distinguished men of the nation came here to see what manner of man the Republican Party had nominated from this little town, almost an outpost of civilization.

Governor Wood tendered to Mr. Lincoln the use of the executive offices on the second floor of this building, and it was in this office that Mr. Lincoln met the many visitors who came to see him.

Mr. Jesse W. Weik, in his book, "The Real Lincoln," at page 287 relates an interview with Mr. John W. Bunn, in which Mr. Bunn stated that one day on the stairway in this building he passed Mr. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and that when he entered the room of Mr. Lincoln he said that he hoped Mr. Lincoln would not place that man in the cabinet. Mr. Lincoln wanted to know why, to which Mr. Bunn replied, "He thinks he is a great deal bigger than you are." Mr. Lincoln's reply was: "If you know any other men who think they are bigger than I am, I want to put them all in my cabinet."

Dr. Newton Bateman, Superintendent of Public Instruction, occupied the room next to the Presidential candidate, and on many occasions Mr. Lincoln's room became so crowded that Dr. Bateman took charge of the overflow. Dr. Bateman delivered an address in Galesburg, which was published by a little club known as the "Cadmus Club." In this address Dr. Bateman tells of the eight months during which he saw Mr. Lincoln every day for several hours, meeting all classes of citizens, from the most distinguished to the humblest, and that Mr. Lincoln at all times conducted himself with dignity and with most pleasant address.

Dr. Bateman related how, after the committee to notify him of his nomination had called upon Mr. Lincoln, he stated that he would acknowledge the nomination formally in writing. A few days afterwards Mr. Lincoln handed to Dr. Bateman his written acceptance, which was as follows:

"The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanied your letter meets my approval and it shall be my care to not violate it or disregard it in any part."

When Mr. Lincoln handed this written statement to Dr. Bateman he stated that grammar was not his stronghold, and that he would like to have Dr. Bateman correct it if it needed doctoring. This statement by Mr. Lincoln, the author of the Gettysburg speech, so frequently referred to as a model of the English language, seems somewhat amusing. Dr. Bateman returned the note with the recommendation that the words "to" and "not" be transposed, to which Mr. Lincoln replied: "Oh, you think I had better turn those two little fellows end for end?"

In this same address Dr. Bateman refers to an incident that happened one day in the State Law Library, when Mr. Lincoln was playing a game of chess with Judge Treat. Tad Lincoln came to summon his father to dinner, and Mr. Lincoln kept him away from the table with his long arms, watching the game, until his vigilance having relaxed, the boy tilted the chessboard and the chessmen rolled on the floor. Judge Treat was much amazed and advised summary punishment. Mr. Lincoln attempted to capture the boy, but the boy eluded him, ran out of the State House, whereupon Mr. Lincoln laughingly remarked: "I guess that upheaval was rather fortunate for you, Judge," and quietly put on his hat and followed the boy home.

It was while the presidential campaign was being conducted in this building that a young man, who ultimately achieved international fame, got his start. When the campaign first opened up it was apparent that the correspondence of Mr. Lincoln would become very heavy, and as all letters had to be answered carefully, and in longhand, it was necessary to have capable assistants. Mr. O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State, loaned to Mr. Lincoln, without expense, John G. Nicolay, a clerk in his office, a young man whom he had brought with him from Pittsfield, Illinois. The correspondence became so heavy that Mr. Nicolay could not handle it, and at a conference of friends Mr. Milton Hay stated that he had a young man studying law in his office by the name of John Hay, whose services he could secure without cost.

John Hay was a nephew of Milton Hay, had studied at the old Illinois State University, now the Lutheran College in this city, from which school he had gone to Brown University. After his graduation from Brown, John Hay had returned to his home at Warsaw, Illinois, from which place he came to Springfield in 1859 to study law in the office of his uncle, Milton. John Hay was not particularly anxious to study law. In fact, he wanted a clerkship in the Auditor's office, which was next to the State Library, so that he might have opportunity to indulge his literary tastes. However, he did take up the study of law seriously, which he pursued until he became the assistant secretary to Mr. Lincoln. He here renewed his intimate acquaintance with Mr. Nicolay, whom he had previously known at Pittsfield. John Hay was very adept in the writing of a happy letter, and it is related that he displayed great skill in the very important correspondence that was turned over to him.

When it came time for Mr. Lincoln to leave for Washington he had become so attached to both of his secretaries that he wanted to take them with him. As the Presidential allowance for secretaries was only $2,500, he did not see how he could take care of John Hay. Mr. Milton Hay relieved the situation by agreeing to support his nephew in Washington for the first six months, but after the two secretaries were established in the White House the President made arrangements to relieve Mr. Milton Hay from this burden.

How strange that John Hay should get his first schooling in diplomacy at the age of twenty-two in handling important correspondence in a most trying time for a Presidential nominee here in this building.

The diplomatic career of Mr. Hay is familiar to all. He served in somewhat minor capacities in the United States Legations at Paris, Vienna and Madrid. He was Assistant Secretary of State in 1879, and subsequently was Secretary of State under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. He was Ambassador to the Court of St. James, where he served with great distinction and reflected the greatest credit upon the American people. Little did he dream, when he tried his hand at letter writing in this building that one day he would be internationally famous as the negotiator of the Hay-Pauncefort Treaty and the "Open Door" policy in China.

Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861, on which occasion his old political antagonist, Stephen A. Douglas, showed his real character by sitting on the platform and holding the hat of his former rival, as he delivered his inaugural address. And then came the war, and Mr. Douglas hurried back to Springfield, and here in this room, before the two Houses of the Legislature, presided over by Shelby M. Cullom, Speaker of the House, then thirty-two years of age, delivered his great, patriotic address, declaring himself unqualifiedly for the preservation of the Union, and calling upon all loyal citizens, regardless of party, to uphold the President. And then in a few days, Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," the brilliant and accomplished orator and debater, the patriot, passed away at his home in the City of Chicago, his last public words having been an appeal to maintain the integrity of the Union.

The war started from this building another young man on the road to fame. When the President called for volunteers a company was organized in Galena, Illinois. Ulysses S. Grant, then thirty-nine years of age, who had come to Galena to clerk in his father's store, was asked to drill the company. Mr. Grant had graduated from West Point and had served in the Mexican War, but had tired of the regular army life. Mr. Grant drilled the company in Galena and brought it down to Springfield, and turned it over to the Governor, to become a part of the Illinois quota, but declined the Captaincy of the company. He did, however, write to the Adjutant General of the United States, asking for a commission, but his letter was not answered, and it was found in the files of the War Department many years after the war closed.

The troops began to gather in this city and Mr. Grant was employed to help drill them and get them into shape. During this period Mr. George M. Brinkerhoff was a clerk in the office of Mr. Jesse K.

Dubois, the State Auditor, and Mr. Brinkerhoff relates that Mr. Grant would come into the Auditor's office and sit around, rarely speaking to any one, and making few acquaintances. For this service Mr. Grant was paid $120, the warrant being issued by Mr. Brinkerhoff, and being cashed in the office of the State Treasurer.

In the early part of June, 1861, Mr. Grant went to his old home in Cincinnati, thinking that he might meet Gen. George B. McClellan, who was organizing troops in that territory, and intending to appeal to him for a commission. Meanwhile a regiment, organized in the neighborhood of Mattoon, Illinois, and known as the 21st Illinois, had become unmanageable by reason of lack of discipline and the character of some of the men. Governor Yates and his friends saw that the 21st Illinois would not be fit for service if it was not put in the hands of a competent Colonel. Mr. Dubois was particularly interested in this regiment because it came from his part of the state. Mr. Dubois said that he had been watching the man, Grant, who had been sitting around his office, and that he considered him one of the few men who had appeared around the capitol who was a real soldier, and that he was going to ask the Governor to commission Grant as Colonel of the 21st Illinois.

One day Mr. Dubois went up to the Governor's office, and returned rather hurriedly and red in the face, and announced that he had gotten the appointment for Grant, that the Governor's secretary wanted the appointment for a friend in Chicago, and had been very insistent, and that if he had not subsided he, Dubois, would have taken him by the nap of the neck and thrown him out of the window.

When Mr. Grant returned from Ohio he was given his commission and assumed command on June 16, 1861. On June 28, 1861, the 21st Illinois was mustered into the United States service for three years, and on the 3rd day of July, 1861, this regiment, with Ulysses S. Grant as its Colonel, marched out of Camp Yates, in the west part of the city, and started on foot down the Jacksonville Road, headed for Quincy.

The father of the writer of this article, Dr. A. L. Converse, was authority for the following incidents related to him by Gen. John A. McClernand. Gen. McClernand stated that when Mr. Grant was commissioned as Colonel of the 21st Illinois, he, McClernand, was directed to take Grant out and present him to the regiment. He secured a carriage, and as he was leaving this building he met John A. Logan and asked Mr. Logan to accompany him and Grant and make the presentation speech. Gen. McClernand said that he was particularly anxious to get Mr. Logan to make the speech because there had a been a great deal of talk throughout the country that Mr. Logan was sympathizing with the South and was not friendly to the National administration. Mr. Logan came from Southern Illinois, and this portion of the State was hesitating until the position of Mr. Logan should be definitely disclosed.

Mr. Logan got into the carriage and on the way out Gen. McClernand said that the regiment was somewhat surly and should be enthused if possible. Mr. Logan's address was most patriotic and

thrilling, and in his enthusiasm Mr. Logan so thoroughly committed himself to the cause of the Union that there could be no question as to where he stood.

Gen. Grant in his Memoirs refers to the wonderful address delivered by Mr. Logan, but does not entirely agree with the statement of Gen. McClernand, in that he states that this address was made after he had taken command of the regiment, and that Messrs. McClernand and Logan had requested the privilege of making speeches, as they were both members of Congress, and had just returned from Washington. Gen. Grant further says that he hesitated somewhat about letting Mr. Logan speak as he had some personal doubts as to just where Mr. Logan stood, but he was glad that he did give his permission, as Mr. Logan's speech settled all doubts as to his position, and thereafter Southern Illinois responded to every call of the President with more than its quota.

Ulysses S. Grant attracted practically no attention in this city, and no one dreamed that within four years he would be the commanding general of the armies of the Union, with a reputation as one of the world's greatest generals. No one in Springfield, by the wildest flight of imagination, would have anticipated that this young man, looking for a commission, drilling soldiers at $60 a month, would, within eight years, be President of the United States.

During the war the funds of the Government to the amount of $5,000,000 were handled by Mr. Brinkerhoff in the office of the State Auditor. As the troops were organized the State of Illinois would purchase the clothing and equipment to send the soldiers to the front, and an auditing committee sat in the Auditor's office to audit the bills, which in turn would be forwarded to Washington, and funds from the National government would be sent to Springfield to reimburse the treasury.

During the course of the war one of the most dramatic events in the history of the State of Illinois occurred in this building. The members of the 23rd General Assembly were elected in 1862, and the Legislature convened in this building on January 5, 1863, and adjourned February 14, 1863, until the 2nd of June of that year. This Legislature was politically opposed to Governor Yates and the National administration, and was a source of considerable embarrassment to both the Governor and the President. There was fear, possibly exaggerated, of the things that this Legislature might do, so that when it reconvened in Springfield on June 2, 1863, Governor Yates and his friends were anxious to wind up the session as soon as possible.

On the evening of June 9th, about eleven o'clock, Mr. Dubois, the Auditor, came into his office where he found Mr. Brinkerhoff who, by reason of the great amount of work in the office, was compelled to work well into the night. He told Mr. Brinkerhoff to go up to the Governor's office. The Governor handed him a note and asked him to take it to Judge Stephen T. Logan, and bring back the answer. It was not a particularly pleasant trip at that time of the night out to the home of Judge Logan. But he did as directed, and made a great racket attempting to awaken the family. Finally Judge Logan opened an upper window, and learning who the caller was, came downstairs in

his nightclothes, carrying a tallow candle. He read the note of Governor Yates, and being told that Governor Yates wanted a reply in writing, he immediately wrote an answer, which the young man carried back to the Governor, who was waiting.

Governor Yates then asked young Brinkerhoff if he knew what it was all about, and upon being advised that he did not, the Governor told him, in confidence, that he and a number of his friends had been in conference considering the question as to whether or not the Governor had the power to prorogue the Legislature, but that he would not do so until he had the advice of Judge Logan, and that Judge Logan in his answer had advised that the Governor could do so, and that he proposed to do so the following day.

The excuse for proroguing the Legislature was that the Senate had proposed to adjourn on the 8th day of June, and the House had refused to concur in the resolution. The Constitution provided that where the two Houses disagreed as to the time of adjournment the Governor should have the right to adjourn the Legislature. Evidently the Governor did not intend to give the two Houses an opportunity to further consider the question, for at noon on June 10th he sent a message by special messenger to both of the Houses, notifying them that by reason of their disagreement, and acting upon the authority of the Constitution, he declared them adjourned until the Saturday next preceding the first Monday in 1865.

The members of the Legislature were taken by complete surprise, and were fairly stunned. A lengthy protest was entered upon the Journal of the House, said protest being in many respects similar to the original Declaration of Independence. Enough of the members of both Houses, sufficient to break a quorum, drew their pay and went home, and nearly all the members followed suit in the course of a few days.

On the 23rd and 24th of June, however, two members of the Senate and four members of the House undertook to hold a session of the Legislature, claiming that they had not adjourned, and one of the members of the House, Mr. Charles A. Keys of this city, demanded his pay, amounting to two dollars, for these two days' services, and because the Auditor, Mr. Dubois, would not issue the warrant, he started a mandamus suit against the State Auditor in the Supreme Court.

At the same time another mandamus suit was filed against Mr. O. M. Hatch, the Secretary of State, to compel him to certify an act incorporating the Wabash Railway Company, on the ground that the Governor had not returned the bill, with his veto, within ten days after it had been passed by the Legislature. These two law suits are reported in full in the 33rd Volume of the Illinois Supreme Court Reports, pages 9 to 166, inclusive, and they are very interesting because the Court in considerable detail states the facts as well as the law.

It is generally understood that the Supreme Court sustained the action of the Governor in proroguing the Legislature, but a reading of these cases disclosed that the Court did what Supreme Courts frequently do, that is, decided the cases without passing upon this precise point. The gist of the decisions was that when the Governor prorogued the Legislature the members left and went home, and that in fact constituted an adjournment, regardless of whether or not the Governor

had the power under the circumstances to exert his constitutional authority.

The last event in this building, so far as it relates to Abraham Lincoln, was on the 4th day of May, 1865, when his remains lay in state in this room, immediately in front of the Speaker's rostrum. Press accounts at the time state that twenty-five thousand people passed in review that day. This great concourse of people came into this building through the north door, up the north stairway, into the north door of this room passed around the remains, out the south door of this room, and down the south stairs and out the south door. After the remains had been viewed they were taken to Oak Ridge Cemetery and interred in the receiving vault.

A description of the appearance of this room when the remains of Mr. Lincoln lay here in state is found in the History of Sangamon County, 1881, at page 357, and is as follows:

"The scene inside the Hall was most solemn and impressive; the elegance and appropriateness of the decorations, the rich catafalque underneath a splendid canopy, the silent dead, the officers and guard, making up a sad picture. The decorations were in most excellent taste; the general arrangement being such as to make them correspond with the room, which is a semi-circular-colonade of eleven Corinthian columns, supporting a half-dome, the straight side being toward the west, in the centre of which was the Speaker's chair (which was removed for the occasion). At the apex of the dome was a rising sun, radiating to the circumference. On the floor a dais was erected, ascended by three steps; on the dais, a hexagon canopy supported on columns twelve feet high, the shaft covered with black velvet, the capitals wrought in white velvet, with silver bands and fillets; the canopy rising seven feet in the centre, tent-shaped, covered with heavy black broadcloth in radiating slack folds, surmounted at the apex and at each angle with heavy black plumes with white centre, with draped eagle on the center of each crown-mould; the cornice, corresponding with the capitals, covered with black velvet, the moulding and bands of silver; the lining of the canopy was of white crepe, in radiating folds over blue, thick set with stars of silver, with black velvet and silver fillets inside the cornice; between columns a rich velvet valance, in folds, with heavy silver fringe, from under which depended velvet curtains extending from each column two-thirds of the distance from the capitals to the cornice, looped with bands, the whole so disposed as to exhibit both columns and capitals inside and out. The effect of the canopy, with its supports and drapery, was very imposing, the whole being unique and elegant, combining lightness with massiveness with great effect. Twelve brilliant jets of gas, burning in globes, shining from the columns, lit the interior, reflecting from the folds of the canopy a soft and pleasing light.

"The catafalque was covered with black velvet, trimmed with silver bands, and adorned with thirty-six stars of burnished silver—twelve at the head, and twelve at each side. The floor of the dais was covered with evergreens strewn with white flowers . The steps of the dais were covered with massive broadcloth drapery, bordered with silver.

"The columns of the Hall were draped with black crepe, and the capitals festooned and entwined with the same, and ornamented with rosettes. The cornice was appropriately draped, and bearing around the entire circumference, in large, white letters, on a black ground, the words of President Lincoln at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, February 22, 1861: 'SOONER THAN SURRENDER THESE PRINCIPLES, I WOULD BE ASSASSINATED ON THE SPOT.' In front of the gallery, were black velvet panels, nine feet by two and a half, having silver bands and fringe, with crossed olive branches in the center. Above the gallery were looped curtains of black crepe, extending around the semi-circle. Below the gallery were white crepe curtains, with black looped upon it. Each column was ornamented with a beautiful wreath of evergreens and white flowers.

"On the top of the gallery, and extending around, was a wreath of evergreens. The Corinthian cornice is continued on the west, at each side, twenty-three feet, toward the center, supported by pillars of the same order, the space between being surmounted by an obtuse arch, reaching within one foot of the apex, projecting six inches, leaving a depression resembling a panel, thirty-three feet wide by thirty-seven feet high at the extreme height. In the upper portion of this was placed a blue semi-circular field, sixteen feet across, bearing stars six inches in diameter, and from which radiated the thirteen stripes of the American flag in delicate crepe, two feet wide at the circumference of the blue field, increasing in width to five feet at the extreme low angle, breaking on the dais below, and the pilasters on either side, the whole surmounted by cloud work in blue and black crepe, and so disposed as to correspond with the blue field, stars, and radiated panel of the ceiling. The center red stripe falls opposite the opening in the curtains at the head of the catafalque. On the cornice, each side of the flag work, were placed two mottoes, corresponding to that on the semi-circular cornice, forming together one, in these words: 'WASHINGTON THE FATHER; LINCOLN THE SAVIOR.' A life-sized portrait of Washington, the frame draped in blue crepe, stood at the head of the catafalque. The interior decorations were perfected under the direction of G. F. Wright, the catafalque by Colonel Schwartz, and the exterior of the building by E. E. Myers.

"The coffin was probably the handsomest ever constructed in this country. It was mahogany, lined with lead, and covered with black cloth of the richest and most expensive quality, heavily fringed with silver, with four silver medalions on each side in which were set the handles. The outside of the coffin was festooned with massive silver tacks, representing drapery, in each fold of which was a silver star, the outer edges adorned with silver braid, with five tassels, five inches in length, each side having upon it four massive handles, and at the head and foot were stars. Upon the top was a row of silver tacks, extending the entire length on both sides, about two inches from the edge. Upon the center was a silver plate encircled by a shield, formed also of silver tacks, and the face lid and top were united with five silver stars. The inside of the face lid was raised white satin, the centre piece being trimmed with black and white silk braid festooned at each corner with four silver stars."

In the files of the Probate Clerk in this building is a small package of papers, the record of the probate of the estate of Abraham Lincoln, deceased, a citizen and resident of Sangamon County, Illinois.

The State Officers vacated this building in 1876. On February 21, 1876, the Circuit Court of Sangamon County held its first session in this room, Judge Charles S. Zane presiding. On this occasion remarks were made by Gen. John A. McClernand, William H. Herndon, the old law partner of Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Ben S. Edwards. These remarks were more or less reminiscent of the early days, and particularly was reference made to the association of the speakers with Mr. Lincoln. Gen. McClernand referred to the fact that he had sat in this room with Mr. Lincoln as a member of the House of Representatives. In the course of his remarks Gen. McClernand said:

"This room has been the forum of many historical characters, men who have attained not only state but national prominence. There was Baker, a brilliant, imaginative, graceful speaker, and as brave and chivalrous upon the battle field as he was eloquent upon the rostrum. He has passed away. Lincoln has passed away, Douglas has passed away, and others, and I am left here to recount to you the reminiscences."

At the conclusion of the remarks Judge Zane said that he could add nothing to what had already been said, and proceeded to call the docket.

This building was occupied by the county officials in the same condition as when used as a State Capitol until the building was remodeled in 1899-1901, by raising it a story, putting on a new roof and dome, making additional entrances at the east and the west, altering the arrangement of the building, at a cost of approximately $170,000. The corner stone of the remodeled building was laid on October 21, 1899, by the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order. The original corner stone was not found. A full account of these proceedings is found in the Illinois State Register on October 22, 1899.

On this occasion remarks were made by Major James A. Connolly, Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, Mr. James M. Graham, and others. In this issue of the Illinois State Register will also be found a long list of the articles that were placed in the corner stone. The addresses of the gentlemen mentioned were largely reminiscent and touched upon many of the things that have been set forth in this address.

In the course of his address Major Connelly, however, told of an incident that is interesting and somewhat amusing. He stated that during the great political gatherings in the early days, before the railroads came to Springfield, committees would go to the top of this dome, with spy glasses, and watch the surrounding country for approaching delegations as they came by wagon and on horseback, and whenever a delegation was discovered in the distance, crossing the prairie, an escort would be sent out to bring it into the town.

Mr. DeWitt W. Smith tells of another incident that is interesting, and also somewhat amusing. He relates that when the Northern Cross Railroad, the predecessor of the Wabash Railway Company, was about to be extended into the City of Springfield in 1841, there was considerable agitation to have this railroad come down on Sixth Street and

stop at the southeast corner of the public square. The reason given was that the members of the Legislature would stop at the American House, which stood on that corner, and that it would be convenient for the legislators to get off the train and go directly either into the hotel or into the Capitol building. This plan, however, was abandoned, and the Northern Cross came in on Tenth Street.

Subsequently when it was proposed to bring the Chicago & Alton in from the north, also on Tenth Street, the citizens west of the square protested, because the east side of the city had a railroad, and they wanted a railroad on the west side. Accordingly, in order to satisfy public clamor, the Chicago & Alton was permitted to pass through the city on Third Street, in order to counterbalance the Wabash on Tenth Street. This is a splendid example of how "city planning" does not always work out to the future advantage of a community.

The old days and the great characters referred to have passed into history. We are living in a commercial age. A new generation has come upon the scene since the last corner stone was laid. Those who knew Mr. Lincoln and who witnessed the great scenes that were enacted in this building in his day, are rapidly passing away.

The proceedings here this day are evidence, however, of a renewed interest in the life and activities of our First Citizens. If this paper contributes in the smallest degree to arousing any further interest, then the writer will be well repaid for his efforts.

The Lincoln Centennial Association has before it a number of ambitious proposals. The program, so far as it relates to this building, has not been definitely developed, but no doubt some definite and practical plan will be adopted in due course. It would not seem amiss for this building and the ground upon which it stands to be taken over by the National Government and maintained for all time to come as a National Museum in which should be housed and protected a complete collection of Lincolniana.

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A number of ladies and gentlemen of Springfield, gave very generously of their time and labor in gathering the material for this address. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

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